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JEWISH LITERARY
ANNUAL

1918

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NEW YORK





**THE JEWISH LITERARY
ANNUAL**

THE
JEWISH LITERARY
ANNUAL

1903.

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THIS VOLUME IS
DEDICATED TO
DR. MICHAEL FRIEDLÄNDER,
THE HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE UNION OF
JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES,
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY
AS A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION AND ESTEEM,
BY HIS FRIENDS, ADMIRERS AND PUPILS
THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT SOCIETIES
OF THE UNION.

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PREFACE

THE preface to the first Jewish Literary Annual published under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies may most appropriately consist of an account of the work of the Union during the past year, *i.e.* the first of its existence. The objects of the Union, as incorporated in the constitution adopted on the 29th June 1902, are as follows:—

- (a) The diffusion of a knowledge of Jewish literature, history, and sociology.
- (b) The co-ordination of the work of literary societies in general.
- (c) The formation of new literary societies, and the encouragement of the literary sides of Jewish social clubs.
- (d) The establishment of means whereby the literary efforts of the societies may be organised and utilised in common.
- (e) The provision of literary material and guidance to members of societies desirous of preparing lectures.
- (f) The encouragement of inter-society meetings and debates.
- (g) The promotion of popular Jewish publications.
- (h) The organisation of summer meetings for Jewish studies.
- (i) The assistance of existing libraries, and the encouragement of circulating libraries in connection with literary societies.

It was thought by the Committee that of these objects the following demanded the earliest consideration: The formation of new literary societies in suitable districts; the support of the societies already in existence, but for various reasons likely to succumb if unaided in the face of the difficulties that beset them; and the encouragement of literary sides to existing working-men's, lads' and girls' clubs. To the furtherance of this portion of its programme the Committee therefore devoted itself in the first place, with the result that at its suggestion meetings were called in various districts, metropolitan and provincial, at which representatives of the Union attended. By these means literary societies have been formed in North-West London, South London, Bayswater, Swansea, and Cardiff. These five societies owe their existence directly to the efforts of the Union. While, however, the Union may legitimately take credit for its share in this work, it must not be forgotten that the bulk of necessary effort and responsibility has fallen on the shoulders of local residents. The influence of the Union, moreover, has also had other indirect results, for in consequence of the interest aroused in the literary society movement by last year's Conference and by the action of the Union's practical activity, similar societies have been formed in many other districts, and have passed through successful seasons.

The Union has also proved itself of use in the case of a few societies that had apparently fallen on evil days. By sending representatives, and in other ways, the Committee has prevented the dissolution of more than one literary society already in existence; and fortified by the encouragement they have received, these societies have been enabled to carry through programmes which have proved both of interest and of value to their members. The Committee has also put itself in correspondence with the management of the various Jewish clubs, with the object of inducing them to create literary sides to their

institutions, with the result that most of the leading Jewish clubs of the country have decided to hold lectures and arrange debates. To facilitate the management of these departments the Union has undertaken to furnish such clubs with lecturers, which it was enabled to do thanks to the satisfactory response it received from the ladies and gentlemen who were invited to lecture under its auspices. Approaches were also made to various societies for the study of Hebrew literature in the original, and also to the Zionist societies with literary sides, and it is hoped that good will finally result from this action.

To the societies that it was instrumental in bringing into existence or saving from extinction, the Committee considered itself in an especial degree responsible for the provision of material for the completion of their literary programmes. To enable it to fulfil its promises to supply the constituent societies with lecturers on Jewish subjects, it issued invitations to a large number of Jewish ladies and gentlemen asking them to consent to lecture or read papers at convenient dates. Of the replies received about ninety conveyed the consent of their writers to the inclusion of their names in the list of lecturers in preparation, and this list, which has now been issued as No. IV. of the Union's publications, contains some seven hundred entries in the subject index. Although, of course, many of these are in duplicate or triplicate, the compilation contains sufficient entries to relieve the managements of literary societies of any trouble so far as the Jewish side of their literary programmes are concerned for many years to come, and as a directory of Anglo-Jewish lecturers it should prove of considerable use to a still wider circle. It was decided to invite lecturers to accept a uniform fee for each lecture of one guinea and travelling expenses. To this request an unanimous consent was given. Lecturers were further asked, whether they would be willing to forego these fees and even

the expenses in exceptional cases, and to this a majority of the ladies and gentlemen have also kindly consented. Invitations have also been issued to a selected number of colonial and foreign Jewish litterateurs and scientists, inviting them to place MSS. of their lectures at the disposal of the Union, and the issue of similar invitations to distinguished non-Jewish scholars resident in this country is also contemplated.

It was felt that there were many members of the constituent societies who were only in need of helpful suggestions to assist and encourage them to undertake research, and read papers dealing with Jewish history, literature, and sociology. A list of about five hundred suitable subjects for papers of Jewish interest was compiled and issued as Publication III. The entries were classified under the following headings: Religious and Philosophical, Historical (General and Anglo-Judaica), Political and Social, Art, Literary (Biblical and Apocryphal, Rabbinical, Imaginative, Scientific, and General), and General. Biographical subjects were not included, as no suggestions for lectures under that head were considered necessary. Members of the constituent societies were at the same time informed that the Union would be pleased to assist any would-be lecturer with suggestions as to authorities to be consulted, and this offer has in several instances been accepted. It was thought that by an arrangement with the authorities of Jews' College facilities might have been obtained for the loan, under sufficient safeguards, of books contained in the four libraries housed in that institution, to members of the constituent societies. Correspondence passed between the executive of the Union and that of Jews' College, but the authorities of the latter institution were not able to comply with the Union's request. The Union has not, however, abandoned all hope of being able still further to assist lecturers by the loan of books not easily available, and it believes that the proposed establishment by the Jewish Historical

Society of a Jewish Museum and Library, a movement to which it has given its heartiest support, will satisfy the great and insistent need of facilities for the consultation of Jewish books. The Union has already to express its thanks to the Jewish Historical Society of England for placing its Lecture Fund and slides at the Union's disposal.

The work of the Jewish Historical Society in this direction resulted in the preparation of illustrated lectures on "The Jews in England," "The Jews in Rome," "Maimonides," and "Menasseh ben Israel." Following on the lines thus set, the Union has prepared additional illustrated lectures on "Purim" and "Passover," and members of its Committee are at present engaged in extending the list. The lantern slides illustrating the lectures are at the disposal of responsible members of the constituent societies.

The Union, although by no means a lecture society, does not consider altogether beyond its scope the holding of an occasional gathering at which members of the constituent societies can meet as its guests. Such a gathering was held at the St. James' Restaurant last October, when Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, M.A., one of the vice-presidents, gave an address on "Marcus Aurelius" to an appreciative audience numbering about four hundred, the largest gathering, it is believed, ever held for such a purpose in the metropolis.

It is the intention of the Union to hold a similar gathering in the autumn in Manchester, and advantage will be taken of the occasion to extend the influence of the movement in the north of England generally. During the past session members of the Executive have visited and lectured before constituent societies at Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newport (Mon.), Swansea (twice), and Tredegar.

At the invitation of the Publication Committee of the Jewish Historical Society the Committee appointed three of its members—Messrs. S. Gelberg, B.A., Bertram

Jacobs, LL.B., and F. S. Spiers, B.Sc.—members of the former body. There has subsequently been a change in the constitution of the Publication Committee, but the Union is still strongly represented on this Committee. The Jewish Historical Society, largely with the view to meet the desires of the Union, is publishing several works of a popular character. The Union itself has issued five pamphlets during the year. Reference has already been made to those entitled “Suggestions for Lectures on Subjects of Jewish Interest” and “First List of Lecturers and Subjects.” In addition there have been published Mr. Bertram Jacobs’ “Hints on the Formation of a Literary Society” and Dr. G. Karpeles’ “The Union of Jewish Literary Societies of Germany,” both read before the Conference in June 1902, and also Mr. Oscar Selinger’s Presidential Address delivered before the members of the North London Jewish Literary and Social Union last October. These pamphlets are published at one shilling each, and can be obtained from the honorary secretary of the Union.

Preparations are far advanced for the holding of a summer meeting at Ramsgate early in August on lines somewhat similar to those of the Jewish Chautauqua Society of America, which owes its origin to Dr. H. Berkowitz. By the institution of these gatherings, which are intended to be annual, although their *locale* will be frequently changed, the Committee believes that it is satisfying a need that has been frequently expressed in the community, and it looks forward to the assistance and co-operation of the constituent societies, their members, and others in making the initial gatherings a success. The Mahamad have with great liberality placed accommodation at Montefiore College at the disposal of the Union, and the Mayor and Corporation of Ramsgate have signified their intention of affording an official welcome to the Union on the occasion of the visit. The projected gatherings have also aroused considerable attention in the

United States, and the Rev. Dr. H. Berkowitz, Chancellor of the Jewish Chautauqua Society of America, and other prominent American Jews and Jewesses, have expressed their intention of attending if possible. At the suggestion of the Melbourne Jewish Literary Society provision was made for the inclusion, as honorary corresponding members, of the colonial and foreign Jewish Literary Societies, and the Melbourne Society has been admitted as the first of this class.

In order to carry out the work roughly sketched in the preceding pages, frequent meetings of the Executive Committee as well as of its sub-committees were necessary. The meetings of the Executive numbered fifteen in all during the year, the first of these following immediately upon the conclusion of the Conference that brought the Union into being. The meetings were without exception, after the first, held at the chambers of Mr. Bertram Jacobs, for whose hospitality the thanks of the Union are due. The Union has also to express its acknowledgment of the generosity displayed by the Council of Jews' College in placing accommodation at its disposal on the occasion of both Conferences, those of 1902 and the present year.

The thanks of the Union are in a very special degree due to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Albert M. Hyamson. His energy and enthusiasm in everything that concerns the interests of the Union have been one of the main causes of the success attained.

The names of the honorary officers of the constituent societies of the Union and a précis of their latest reports are included in this volume, together with a selection of the papers read before some of them during the past session.

LONDON, *July* 1903.

THE WORK OF
THE CONSTITUENT SOCIETIES

UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES

EXECUTIVE.—1902-1903.

President.—ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.

Hon. Chairman.—M. FRIEDLÄNDER, Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents. { The Rev. G. J. EMANUEL, B.A.
C. G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.
J. SNOWMAN, M.D.

Treasurer.—BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B.

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The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A.

The Rev. A. WOLF, M.A.

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S. GELBERG, B.A.

B. HEILBRON.

SOL HEISER.

LESLIE JACOBS.

SIMON MYERS.

F. S. SPIERS, B.Sc.

Hon. Auditors.—ABRAHAM ABRAHAMS and PHILIP MORDANT, C.A.

Hon. Secretary.—ALBERT M. HYAMSON, 102 Grosvenor Road,
Highbury, London, N.

CONSTITUENT SOCIETIES.

BRADY STREET CLUB FOR WORKING BOYS,

DURWARD STREET, E.

President.—The Lady ROTHSCHILD.

Vice-President.—Mrs. A. E. FRANKLIN.

Treasurer.—ARTHUR P. COHEN.

Hon. Secretaries.—ERNEST M. JOSEPH and PHILIP F. PHILLIPS.

Librarian.—H. G. MARKS.

Assistant Librarian.—A. LUPSON.

Chairman.—ARTHUR S. JOSEPH.

The Committee, through the liberality of the landlords, the Four Per Cent. Industrial Dwellings Co., Ltd.,

and of Mr. S. L. Lazarus and Mr. Daniel Marks, have been enabled to entirely redecorate the Club premises. The rooms have been brightly painted, the walls hung with pictures, and the windows furnished with curtains (which were designed by a member of the Club). These improvements, with a more brilliant system of lighting, have rendered the Club more cheerful and homely.

The membership has remained steady throughout the year, the numbers varying from 180 in summer to 270 in winter; the actual nightly attendances have however been greater than in previous years.

The indoor life of the Club has been carried on much as heretofore. The success of the Club in winning for successive years the Federation Chess Trophy has given further impetus to that game. The chess team has never yet suffered defeat. A manager now attends weekly to instruct beginners and give hints to those more advanced in the game. Draughts have also been much played, the less tedious nature of the game making it more popular than chess among the younger members.

Debates have been held at intervals throughout the winter, some of the subjects having led to very keen discussions. The House of Lords has, of course, been abolished, vaccination done away with, and conscription for ever removed from the possibilities of the future. Mr. Hermann Myer has kindly offered to read a paper on the apprenticeship system, which will no doubt lead to a lively debate. It is hoped that this will be the forerunner of many similar papers.

The library has sustained a temporary loss through the illness of its able librarian, Mr. Harry G. Marks. Fortunately for the welfare of the Club, Mr. Marks had trained a most able staff of assistants from amongst the boys, and these have devoted themselves to their self-imposed duties in a most unselfish manner, and have rendered valuable help to their much respected leader, Alfred Lupson. The library has received many additions

during the year, and now contains 1540 volumes. The following statistics may also be of interest: the number of books issued has been 1653 as compared with 1025 in 1901; the largest number borrowed by any one member having been 52 as compared with 38 in 1901.

BUTLER STREET GIRLS' CLUB.

President.—Lady SASSOON.

Vice-Presidents. { Mrs. M. SASSOON.
Mrs. G. RAPHAEL.

Treasurer.—Mrs. E. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE.

Chairman of Executive.—Miss NETTIE ADLER.

Hon. Superintendent of Classes.—Miss PHILLIPS.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss K. SOLOMON, 13 Highbury New Park, N.

THE CITY JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY.

Held at NEW SYNAGOGUE CHAMBERS, GREAT ST. HELEN'S, E.C.

President.—The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A.

Vice-President.—F. S. SPIERS, B.Sc.

Treasurer.—B. I. COHEN.

Hon. Secretaries. { Mr. L. H. KINGSTONE, 60 Middlesex Street,
Aldgate, E.
Mr. A. LEVY, 21A Well Street, Hackney, N.E.

While the social side of the Society's activity has by no means been neglected, there has been an increased interest shown in the lectures and debates.

This Society is now a constituent of the Union of Literary Societies, and has endeavoured to promote some of the aims and objects of the Union by taking part in joint debates, by extending invitations to other societies to attend some of its gatherings, and by accepting the courteous hospitality of other bodies.

The social programme of the Society has been very varied in its character, consisting of concerts, dances, balls and conversaziones during the winter months and outings during the summer.

The Society presented the flowers for the decoration of the New Synagogue on Shevuos of last year, and at the special Chanukah Service for children several members of the Society kindly gave their services as stewards.

The following is a detailed and classified programme of the literary work of the Society during the past session:—

1902.

- Nov. 2. The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. "The Education Bill."
 Dec. 7. The Rev. Prof. Dr. H. GOLLANCZ. "Points of Jewish Interest in the City of Worms."
 „ 21. Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A. "The Solace of Books."

1903.

- Jan. 11. Mr. LAURIE MAGNUS, M.A. "Modern Judaism in Relation to the State."
 „ 25. "Can Judaism thrive without Persecution?" Joint Debate with the Jews' College Union Society.
 Feb. 22. Dr. A. EICHHOLZ. "The Jewish Child at School."
 March 1. "That an Active Attitude towards Anti-Semitism is better than a Passive Attitude." Joint Debate with Birmingham Jewish Young Men's Association.
 „ 8. "That the Presentation of Jewish Life by Novelists is Beneficial to the Cause of Judaism." Inter-Society Debate at the Jews' College Union Society.
 „ 29. Mr. E. A. SHOCK. "That Intercourse with Gentiles is more Beneficial to the Interests of Jewry than Isolation."
 April 5. Mr. ALBERT M. HYAMSON. "Jewish Surnames."

EAST LONDON ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH YOUTH.

President.—The Rev. DAYAN A. FELDMAN, B.A.
Hon. Secretary.—ISIDORE AARONS, 80 Leman Street,
 London, E.

The Association came into existence in November last, and is a combination of the various junior societies in the East End of London.

Mr. Israel Abrahams, M.A., opened the Session on November 8th last at Armfield's Hotel.

Several joint lectures, debates, &c., have been held. A junior branch of lads has been formed. The Rev. Dayan A. Feldman, B.A., the President, gave a series of four lectures on the "History of the Maccabees" at the Hambro Synagogue on Saturday afternoons, which were very well attended by young people, for whom they were intended.

HAMPSTEAD AND ST. JOHN'S WOOD JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—S. MOSES, M.A.

Vice-Presidents.—Rev. A. A. GREEN and Rev. H. L. PRICE.

Treasurer.—B. M. BENJAMIN.

Hon. Secretaries. { HORACE L. FRIEDLANDER, 41 Pandora Road,
W. Hampstead, N.W.,
D. MANCHEVSKY, B.A.

The Committee in presenting its first annual Report congratulates the members on the successful completion of the first session of the Society. The Society had its origin in a private meeting convened in September 1902 by Dr. J. Snowman, at the instance of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies.

The subjects of lectures and debates have ranged over the wide fields of politics, religion, art, science, and literature.

The Committee has pleasure in appending to its report a record of all the meetings of the Society. It believes this to be a new departure on the part of Metropolitan Jewish Literary Societies, and the experiment is interesting on that account.

The social side of the Society has not been neglected, although somewhat dwarfed by its literary activities. A conversazione and ball were held, and the musical subsection—a valuable off-shoot of the Society—gave a much-

appreciated concert. The thanks of the Society are due to all who took part in those entertainments.

The following is a list of the literary meetings of the session :—

1902.

- Nov. 8. The President's Address.
 „ 18. Mr. JACK M. MYERS on "The Education Bill," 1902.
 „ 25. The Rev. CHAS. VOYSEY on "Jesus the Jew."
 Dec. 2. The Rev. L. MENDELSSOHN, B.A., on "Ghetto Legends of Prague."
 „ 9. The Rev. A. A. GREEN on "Jewish Anecdotes."
 „ 23. Dr. BERNARD E. MYERS on "Fact and Fiction of an Interesting People."
 „ 30. Mr. F. VICTOR FISHER on "Art and Morality."
 Jan. 6. Mr. H. H. GORDON on "East-End Difficulties."
 „ 13. Mr. B. M. BENJAMIN on "Anti-Semitism, and How to Cope with It."
 „ 20. Dr. J. S. FUCHS on "Humour in the Bible and the Talmud."
 „ 27. Mr. S. GELBERG, B.A., on "The Press."
 Feb. 3. Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, M.A., on "The Work of the Anglo-Jewish Association."
 „ 10. Mr. MAURICE MYERS on "Animal Miracles in the Old Testament, and Later Parallels."
 „ 17. Mr. J. W. BENN, L.C.C. on "The Houses of Parliament."
 „ 24. Mr. ARTHUR E. FRANKLIN on "Jewish Charity Organisation."
 March 3. Mr. MAX HERZ on "Literature and Character."
 „ 10. Dr. STANTON COIT on "The Poetry of Maeterlinck."
 „ 17. Mr. C. STETTAEUER on "Old-Age Pensions."
 „ 24. Mr. L. G. BOWMAN, M.A., B.Sc. on "Israel Zangwill, Novelist."
 „ 31. Mr. LEONARD ANGELO LEVY on "Colour Photography."
 April 7. Mr. HENRY HYMANS on "A Short Review of the Solar System in the Light of Astronomy."

THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

President.—ISIDORE SPIELMANN, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents. { The Very Rev. Dr. H. ADLER, Chief Rabbi.
JOSEPH JACOBS, B.A.
C. TRICE MARTIN, F.S.A.
F. D. MOCATTA.
LUCIEN WOLF.

Treasurer.—FRANK HAES.

Hon. Secretaries. { I. ABRAHAMS, M.A., Melbourne House, St.
Barnabas Road, Cambridge.
FRANK HAES, 28 Bassett Road, North Kensington, W.
The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A., Synagogue Chambers,
Great St. Helen's, E C.

The number of members has increased, and now stands at about 250. The finances of the Society are in an extremely favourable condition, the total balance at the bank being £438, 13s. In the name of the Society the Council cordially congratulates Mr. Haes on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, and wishes him a long continuance of health and happiness.

The Council has to record with extreme regret the death of Mr. Asher I. Myers, who up to the time of his death was a member of the Executive and Publication Committees, and who always showed the deepest sympathy with the work of the Society. The late Mr. Myers rendered valuable services in the formation of the Society; during the first few years of its existence he acted as Auditor, and as a member of the Executive and Publication Committees he was ever ready to give the Society the benefit of his practical experience on many important details. In every respect the Society has to deplore in the removal of Mr. Myers the loss of a consistent and devoted supporter of the Society. It has been decided to establish a memorial to mark the services rendered to the Society by the late Mr. Myers, and a fund has already been started, open to subscription from all members of the

community, to form an Historical Research Fund to promote scholarly work in Jewish History and Literature.

The Session opened on December 22, 1901, with a Presidential Address by Mr. F. D. Mocatta, entitled "The Wanderings of the Jews." On March 1, 1902, Mr. Lucien Wolf delivered a lecture on "The Jews of the Restoration," and on the same date the Rev. S. Levy, M.A., read a paper on "The Jewry Wall at Leicester." On April 13 Mr. J. M. Rigg gave a lecture on "The Jews of England in the Thirteenth Century," to serve as an introduction to the study of the volume of "Jewish Plea Rolls," edited by him for joint publication by the Jewish Historical and Selden Societies. The Rev. S. Singer had promised to read a paper in June on "Jews and English Coronations," but the meeting was postponed in consequence of the illness of the king. A formal meeting of the Society was held in July for the election of a new president, when Mr. Isidore Spielmann, F.S.A., was elected in succession to Mr. F. D. Mocatta. Mr. Spielmann's interest in Anglo-Jewish research is of long standing. The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887 owed a great deal to his inspiration, and the Society is looking forward with satisfaction to his more active influence on its work.

As has been already mentioned, the Society has, during the past year, published conjointly with the Selden Society a volume of "Select Pleas and other Records of the Exchequer of the Jews." The fourth volume of the Transactions of the Society is in the press and well advanced, and will be issued to members during the current year.

The relations of the Jewish Historical Society with the Jewish Publication Society of America continue to be of a cordial character. Since the last Report, the second part of Lazarus' "Ethics of Judaism" has been published by the Jewish Historical Society. The first volume in the "Jewish Worthies" series on "Maimonides," by Mr. I. Abrahams and Mr. David Yellin, has been published simultaneously in England and America, and the Jewish

Historical Society has purchased the English rights in, and has recently published, Dubnow's "Essay on the Philosophy of Jewish History."

The Society has made arrangements with M. Cardozo de Bethencourt for a complete calendar of documents relating to the Inquisition, hitherto unpublished. M. Cardozo de Bethencourt has already forwarded a substantial contribution of the work he has undertaken for the Society. Mr. Lucien Wolf has kindly promised to edit the material for the Society, and when published the documents will be seen to be of the utmost value to students of general and Anglo-Jewish History.

The Publication Committee has appointed a sub-committee to report on other intended publications, and in the near future it may reasonably be expected that there will be a rapid extension of the publication side of the Society's activity.

The Society welcomes the formation of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies. The Jewish Historical Society has joined this new body, and has lent to the Union the slides belonging to the Society in connection with the Popular Lecture Scheme. The Society has also placed the Popular Lecture Fund at the disposal of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, provided that every grant made from the fund be subject to special application. It is hoped that these arrangements will prove mutually advantageous, and will help to further the literary movement in this country.

THE JEWISH STUDY SOCIETY.

President.—Mrs. HENRY LUCAS.

Vice-President.—Mrs. E. L. FRANKLIN.

Librarian.—Miss L. H. MONTAGU.

Treasurer.—Miss PHEBE LEWIS.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss ALICE HENRIQUES, 47 Sussex Gardens, W.

Hitherto the members of circles of all ages and degrees of culture have followed the same syllabuses, but there is a growing sentiment, which finds its strongest expression

in the East London Communal League centre, that some of the subjects of study are too difficult. It is felt that a number of young people, in the East End and elsewhere, who are greatly in need of instruction, might be induced to band themselves into study circles if much easier courses were provided for them; to meet this objection, a friend to all young people of our race and an ardent lover of all that is sublime in our national history, has been induced to write a special syllabus, and it is hoped its merits will at once prove an incentive to study for those "who, with only a limited amount of leisure, desire to know something of their national history."

The Jewish Chautauqua Society of America have also published simple course books in Biblical and post-Biblical history and literature, that they may meet the requirements of junior students; these, and also other printed matter issued by the National Council of Jewish Women, have been courteously placed at the Society's disposal, and are available to be reprinted in England under certain regulations, the Jewish Study Society reciprocating the favour by sending copies of syllabuses, &c., to these American Societies, on the same understanding.

The object of the Society is to deepen interest in Judaism, and a proposal has been made that the Committee should add the study of Hebrew to its aims. This proposal will, of course, receive the earnest attention of the Committee, and will no doubt be favourably received. Should this be the case, the kind offers of teachers, which have been already made, will be accepted, and if the desire is manifested a class for adults who have hitherto not had the opportunity of studying the language in which our Holy Bible and Prayers are written, and also for those who are able to study Hebrew as a literature, will be formed. It is obvious that this is a matter of the utmost importance, and it is to be hoped that, should the classes be started by the Committee, the members of the Study Society will be eager to second their efforts.

Various lectures bearing on the courses of study have been delivered from time to time as follows: Mr. Claude Montefiore, M.A., on "The Book of Job"; Mr. Israel Abrahams, M.A., on "The Problem of Evil as evolved from the Book of Job"; also on "The Yellin Method of teaching Hebrew," which lecture was repeated for the benefit of members living in the East End; the Rev. S. Singer, a course of three lectures on "Jewish Life at the Time of the Rise of Christianity"; and Mr. H. L. Pass, M.A., a course of three lectures on "The Minor Prophets." The Rev. S. Singer was invited to repeat his course at the East End; the attendance, however, was so disappointing that after the second lecture the course was abandoned.

The Society hopes by participating in the publication of Mr. Israel Abrahams' and Mrs. Henry Lucas' "Hebrew Reading and Grammar on the Yellin Method," to have the satisfaction of making its first effort in literary publication. It is believed this will prove an exceedingly useful and attractive text-book for Elementary Schools and Classes, and for private instruction.

A library has been started which, by the kind permission of Miss Lily Montagu, the librarian, is located at the West Central Girls' Club, Dean Street, Soho. The nucleus of the library was formed by Mr. F. D. Mocatta, who generously placed fifty copies of Graetz's "History of the Jews" at the disposal of the Society at the nominal cost of binding up the sheets. Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, another kind contributor, presented a complete set of the "Jewish Quarterly Review," bound. Other works have been purchased as the need has arisen.

In June 1902 the Conference of Jewish Literary Societies at Jews' College invited Mrs. Lionel Jacob to read a paper on the work of the Jewish Study Society; this was highly appreciated by those who had the pleasure of hearing it, and it has since been read in America, at the Triennial meeting of the Council of Jewish Women. The Union

of Jewish Literary Societies later issued a formal invitation to the Study Society to become affiliated, and this has been accepted by the Committee, in the confident belief that such action will prove useful and beneficial in forwarding the aims and objects in view.

It is satisfactory to point out that the Jewish Study Society has drawn into its circle not only those who have achieved a large insight into Jewish historical and literary subjects, and who willingly co-operate in the cause of imparting what they know to others, but also mothers of young children who wish to study something of their national history before they are ready to transmit it, and finally many young members whose knowledge of ancient history has hitherto been drawn from the annals of Rome and Greece, and has never included the inspiring accounts of the unrivalled persecution and heroic martyrdom of Jewish patriots.

JEW'S' COLLEGE LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.

Vice-Presidents.—Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER, Dr. S. A. HIRSCH,
and A. LEVY.

Hon. Secretary.—ISRAEL COHEN, Queen Square House,
Guilford Street, W.C.

The session opened with a Presidential Address on "The Solace of Books," by Mr. Israel Abrahams, on November 3. Subsequent lectures were given as follows: Dr. Hirschfeld on "The Arabic Fragments of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge," December 1; Dr. S. A. Hirsch on "The Mishna," January 5; Rev. L. Mendelssohn, B.A., on "Rashi and his Bible Commentary," March 2; "Chronology of *Pirke Aboth*, I. (Chain of Tradition)," by Mr. Israel Cohen, May 4; and "Origins of Jewish Mysticism," by Rev. G. Lipkind, June 8.

The lectures were delivered on the first Monday of the

month, and on each occasion were followed by an interesting discussion.

The first Conference of the Literary Societies was held at Jews' College, and was inaugurated by the President, Mr. Israel Abrahams. The delegates of the College Literary Society were Dr. M. Friedländer, and Messrs. I. Abrahams and I. Cohen. Among the papers read at the Conference was one on "The Formation of a Jewish Library," by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Israel Cohen.

JEWS' COLLEGE UNION SOCIETY.

Hon. President.—ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.

President.—ISRAEL COHEN.

Vice-President.—ABRAHAM LEVY.

Treasurer.—J. DANGLOWITZ.

Hon. Secretary.—BARNET I. COHEN. } Queen Square Home,
Deputy Hon. Secretary.—H. GOODMAN. } Guilford St., W.C.

Since the issue of the last Report the membership has increased from fifty-six to seventy-nine, and the Committee is pleased to be able to state that there are but few past students of the College who have not joined.

In order to afford members of the College Council and others eligible for membership of the Union Society an opportunity of evincing their appreciation of its work, a system of life-membership has been created. To obtain such membership a single payment of a subscription of two guineas is required. Eight gentlemen have already availed themselves of this privilege.

The Session was inaugurated by a Social Reunion on Sunday evening, November 9, 1902, which was attended by over two hundred ladies and gentlemen, including the Executive of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, the Officers of the Metropolitan Jewish Literary Societies, and a number of other leading members of the Community.

Two very successful joint debates were held, the one at

Jews' College with the North London Jewish Literary and Social Union, and the other at the Vestry Room of the New Synagogue, Great St. Helen's, E.C., with the City Jewish Social and Literary Society.

Both these joint debates were held under "Union" conditions, *i.e.*, each Society providing two speakers for, and two against the resolution. This new system, advocated by the Union of Literary Societies, worked admirably.

A joint debate with the Birmingham Jewish Young Men's Association had been arranged to take place at Jews' College on March 8, 1903, but at the last moment the Midland Society found it impossible to send the necessary representatives. As the Union Society had invited the members of all London Jewish Literary Societies to be present, great inconvenience might have resulted from the defection of the Birmingham Association had not Mr. Israel Cohen kindly stepped into the breach and opened a debate on "Jewish Novelists." An excellent discussion ensued in which members of seven Societies took part. The success of this meeting suggests the advisability of similar conjoint meetings being arranged by the different bodies affiliated to the new Union, in place of the ordinary joint debates.

In addition to the events already mentioned, four other literary meetings and internal debates were held at Queen Square House.

The activity of the Union of Literary Societies calls for an expression of grateful appreciation.

During the past Session a Sport's Club and a Chess Club were formed, the latter under the captaincy of Mons. A. Antoine (with Mr. H. J. Sandheim as Honorary Secretary), and the former under the captaincy of Mr. J. Danglowitz (with Mr. B. I. Cohen as Honorary Secretary).

Before concluding its Report the Committee referred to an event of the greatest interest, namely, the seventieth birthday of the learned and beloved Principal of the

College, Dr. M. Friedländer, to whom, as well as to Mrs. Friedländer, it offered its heartiest congratulations. As the Report was passing through the press, an illuminated address to Dr. Friedländer was in course of preparation, a draft of which had by that time been sent to all past and present students of the College.

The following is a list of the meetings:—

1902.

- Nov. 9. Social Reunion.
- „ 16. Impromptu Debate.
- Dec. 14. Debate on “The Jewish Religious Union.” Opened by Mr. H. GOODMAN.
- „ 18. Joint Debate with the North London Jewish Literary and Social Union, “That a Passive Attitude towards Anti-Semitism is the only correct Policy.”

1903.

- Jan. 17. Debate, “That the Mission of Israel is better served by Dispersion than by Re-Nationalisation.” Opened by Mr. H. J. SANDHEIM; opposed by Mr. H. M. LAZARUS.
- „ 25. Joint Debate with the City Jewish Social and Literary Society, “That Judaism cannot thrive without Persecution.”
- Feb. 15. Literary Evening: Original Papers and Sketches read by Messrs. A. W. TURNER, D. POOL, H. J. SANDHEIM, and ISRAEL COHEN.
- March 8. Conjoint Debate, “That the Presentation of Jewish Life by Jewish Novelists is beneficial to the Interests of Jewry.” Opener, Mr. ISRAEL COHEN; Opposer, Mr. F. S. SPIERS, B.Sc.

NORTH LONDON JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL UNION.

President.—S. WALLACH, Junr.

Vice-President.—AUGUSTUS KAHN, M.A.

Treasurer.—OTTO LOEWI.

Hon. Secs. { Miss STELLA ANIDJAH, 355 Essex Road, Canonbury, N.
 { Miss ANNIE DE VILLIERS, 56 Mildmay Park, N.

In presenting its Sixth Annual Report, the Committee has much pleasure in recording the continuous progress of the Union; the year under review showing in many respects a marked advance on its predecessors.

The subjects of the lectures and debates display, as in former years, a catholicity of range—matters of Jewish interest being however well to the fore. It is gratifying to note that the fixtures were generally well adhered to. The special thanks of the Society are due to Mr. A. M. Hyamson, Mr. H. M. Adler, and Mr. H. Snell for their kindness in filling, at short notice, the places of the only three gentlemen who were unable to keep their engagements.

At the invitation of the Jews' College Union Society the Union visited the College on 18th December, when a joint debate was held, each Society being represented by two speakers in favour of the resolution, and two against. This arrangement appears to be preferable to the previous system, under which each Society ranged the whole of its forces on one side.

The outcome of the successful Conference of Jewish Literary Societies held last June, in the promotion of which the Union took a leading part, has been the formation of a permanent Union of Literary Societies. At a meeting of members of the Union held last September, resolutions were adopted sanctioning the adhesion of the Union to this body, and empowering the Committee to levy a contribution of one shilling per member in furtherance of its work.

The promotion of Literary Societies in various parts of the country is a tribute to the usefulness of the new organisation. It has also issued various publications likely to prove of service to the new Literary Societies—amongst others, the paper read by Mr. Bertram Jacobs at the Conference in June, and Mr. Oscar Selinger's Presidential Address, delivered before the Union in October last. Several members of the North London Union are

taking a leading part in the work of this Institution, and although the Union in its corporate capacity as a literary society confines its activity in matters of communal interest to conference and discussion, it believes that its efforts bear fruit in the general communal work in which many of its members are engaged.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Restaurant Frascati, on 1st November, with Mr. Israel Abrahams, M.A., President of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, and Mrs Abrahams, as the guests of the evening.

Three conversaziones were held during the session, at the first of which the President delivered his inaugural address.

It is gratifying to be able to point to an increase of the membership of the Union, during the year under review, from 88 to 109; but the Committee records with deep regret the death of the Rev. J. A. Gouldstein, an honoured member of the Society.

LIST OF LECTURES AND DEBATES.

1. "The National Portrait Gallery." Sir JOSHUA G. FITCH.
2. "Historical Frauds—Jewish and Gentile." Mr. A. M. HYAMSON.
3. "City Companies and their Halls." Mr. CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A.
4. "John Ruskin, Art Critic and Social Reformer." Mr. A. E. FLETCHER.
5. "The Jewish Religious Union." Mr. S. GELBERG, B.A.
6. "The Psychology of Love." Dr. S. RAPPOPORT.
7. "Excalibur." Mr. LAURIE MAGNUS, M.A.
8. "The History of the Air." Miss BUENA POOL.
9. "Is there a Jewish Literature?" Rev. S. LEVY, M.A.
10. "The Idea of Immortality in the Bible." Mr. H. M. ADLER, M.A.
11. "The Jewish Conception of the Universe during the Middle Ages." Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.

12. "Free Trade." Mr. M. E. LANGE, M.A.
13. "The Influence of the Press." Miss E. GORDON.
14. "Little London." Mr. W. PETT RIDGE.
15. "Babies." Mr. B. JACOBS, LL.B.
16. "The Art of the Past as connected with the Life and Religion of Peoples." Sir W. B. RICHMOND, K.C.B., R.A.
17. "Shylock." Mr. H. SNELL.
18. "Judas Maccabæus." Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.
19. "Anglo-Jewry in 1903—A Stocktaking." Mr. S. GORDON.
20. "The London Education Bill." Mr. B. M. BENJAMIN.
21. "The Modern Revival of Hebrew as a Living Language." Dr. J. SNOWMAN.
22. "Anti-Semitism." Joint Debate with Jews' College Union Society.

SOUTH-EAST LONDON JEWISH LITERARY AND MUSICAL SOCIETY.

President.—Rev. N. GOLDSTON.

Vice-President.—M. BLOOMBERG.

Hon. Treasurer.—G. E. JACOBS.

Hon. Secretaries. { Miss LANCASTER.
Miss SALING.
39 Lewis Grove, Lewisham, S.E.

The session showed that notwithstanding the adverse circumstances under which the Committee had to work, the Society made good progress, more particularly in connection with the literary work it undertook. Ten meetings of the Society were held, and of these five were of a literary character. This is the first session of the South-East London Society to include literary work in its programme.

The Society with great pleasure records its thanks to the Committee of the South-East London Synagogue in granting permission to use the temporary school-rooms for the purposes of the Society.

LIST OF MEETINGS.

1902.

- Nov. 16. Presidential Address. Rev. N. GOLDSTON. Subject: "Jewish Literary Societies."
 „ 30. Debate. "The Education Bill." Opener, M. E. LANGE, M.A.
 Dec. 14. Debate. "The Jew as a Citizen." Opener, M. A. JACOBS.

1903.

- Jan. 11. Concert given by M. BLOOMBERG, Vice-President.
 „ 25. Social Evening.
 Feb. 8. Social Evening.
 March 8. Cinderella.
 „ 22. Symposium. "Jewish Wit and Humour," by M. DAVIS.
 April 5. Concert.
 „ 26. Paper. Rev. N. GOLDSTON. Subject: "Moses Mendelssohn."

SOUTH HACKNEY JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—A. B. SALMEN.

Vice-President.—L. B. FRANKLIN.

Treasurer.—F. B. POZNER.

Hon. Secretary.—SOL HEISER, 66 Victoria Park Road,
 London, N.E.

The number of members amounted to 90 at the end of the session, and it is gratifying to note that of these a large number have been connected with the Society since its inception six years ago.

The Committee hopes that the continuance of the meetings at Mozart House may attract a larger number of members, but they do not lose sight of the desirability of obtaining permanent premises in the parent locale.

The income for the year amounted to £53, 19s. 6d., and there is a substantial surplus of £18, 13s. 9d. to be carried over for the next session.

The work of the Entertainment Committee has been eminently successful, and the grateful thanks of the Society are due to the ladies of the committee whose endeavours have resulted in a number of highly enjoyable entertainments.

Lectures and debates have been given monthly and have been very well attended. The lecturers included the Revs. Dr. Gaster and S. Singer, Mr. H. S. Lewis, M.A., Mr. L. G. Bowman, M.A., B.Sc., Mr. Michael Davis, and Mr. Sol Heiser.

The interchange of courtesies between the Literary Societies has proved a very pleasant and successful feature. During the session the Society entertained members of the North London, Jews' College, East London, and City Literary Societies. The Committee recommends that whenever possible invitations to the literary gatherings of the Society be extended to as many of the kindred Societies as possible.

SOUTH LONDON JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

President.—Rev. FRANCIS L. COHEN.

Vice-President.—E. L. SOLOMONS.

Treasurer.—H. BERNHARDT COHEN.

Hon. Secretaries.—SAMUEL M. RICH and ALFRED EMDON,
The Synagogue, Heygate Street, Walworth, S.E.

The Executive Committee have pleasure in reporting that the Society, which only came into existence in October last, has secured a membership of 99. A provisional committee having been convened by the President, a meeting of the Jewish inhabitants of South London was held on October 16th, 1902, at which a deputation from the Union of Jewish Literary Societies attended, and it was decided that the Society should become affiliated to the Union of Jewish Literary Societies. In response

to a desire that rooms should be secured in a more central position than that occupied by the local Synagogue and Schools, very satisfactory accommodation at the Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell New Road, was secured by the Executive of the Society. The following meetings have been held during the session :—

1902.

- Dec. 7. Inaugural Conversazione.
 „ 21. Lecture, "Ancient Hebrew Melody." Rev. F. L. COHEN
 (with illustrations by Mrs. COHEN).

1903.

- Jan. 4. Lecture, "John Ruskin." Mr. E. STERNHEIM. Rev.
 J. F. STERN in the Chair.
 „ 18. Concert under the direction of Mr. PHILIP COHEN.
 Feb. 1. Lecture, "The Religion of Shakespeare." Mr. JACOB
 WOOLF. Dr. STANTON CORT in the Chair. (The
 Lecture was followed by a Concert.)
 „ 18. Concert under the direction of Mr. ALFRED EMDON.
 March 8. Visit (by kind invitation) to the Jews' College Literary
 Society.
 „ 9. Purim Ball.
 „ 15. Concert under the direction of Mr. H. BERNHARDT
 COHEN.
 „ 29. Lecture, "An Appreciation of Israel Zangwill." Mr.
 L. G. BOWMAN, M.A., B.Sc.
 April 5. Lecture, "The Humours of Spiritualism." Mr. SOL
 HEISER (followed by a Concert).
 „ 26. Annual General Meeting (followed by a Conver-
 sazione).

The attendance of members both at lectures and concerts has been excellent, and will encourage speakers and performers to favour the Society with future visits. The Committee congratulates the members on the organisation of so excellent a programme at short notice. They are particularly anxious to foster local talent, more especially in the serious consideration of questions affecting communal development. None the less they bear the claims

of relaxation in mind, and will also continue to co-operate in the general movements inaugurated by the Union of Jewish Literary Societies.

STEPNEY JEWISH LADS' CLUB,

71 STEPNEY GREEN, LONDON, E.

President.—The Rev. J. F. STERN.

Treasurer.—DENZIL MYER.

Hon. Sec.—P. M. VANLEER.

THE WEST CENTRAL JEWISH WORKING LADS' CLUB,

38 FITZROY SQUARE, W.

President.—C. G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.

Vice-President.—P. S. WALEY.

Treasurer.—W. L. SELIGMAN.

Hon. Secretary.—H. B. COHEN.

Hon. Secretary, Managing Committee.—F. MORLEY.

Librarian.—G. V. MYER.

During the year a very severe loss was suffered in the death of Mrs. Nathaniel Montefiore, through whose generosity the Club was able to move into and enjoy its present premises, and who always took a kindly interest in all the work of the Club. A deputation of Managers and boys attended the funeral.

The membership during the past year has shown a slight increase on the average, ranging from one hundred and twenty to close on two hundred, and a considerable increase during the summer. This is a noticeable improvement and shows that boys do not join merely for a short time in the winter, when they are at a loss for occupation in the evening, but by continued attendance do their best to derive full benefit from the institution. There are boys who have been members continuously since the opening of the Club five years ago.

The Debating Society during the past year showed renewed vigour. Various excellent debates were held on Trade Unions, on Apprenticing, which was kindly opened by Mr. H. Myer, Chairman of the Industrial Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians, and on Club Improvements, a subject of recurring interest which is always debated with exceeding eagerness and animation, and with a persistency deserving of success.

The library has been well patronised so far as the limited number of books rendered possible. The Committee ventures to appeal most earnestly for gifts of books and periodicals, so that the usefulness of the library may be extended.

A short service was held on the Day of Atonement during the afternoon. So far as it went it was very successful. It was attended chiefly by the younger members, which is probably due to the fact that the elder boys attended services which lasted during the whole of the day. The thanks of the Club are due to Mr. H. M. Adler for officiating, and to Mr. H. S. Lewis for writing a sermon specially suited to the occasion.

The Club receives with enthusiasm from time to time letters from former members in all parts of the world, including the United States of America, Australia, and South Africa, where twelve old boys are settled, five of whom fought in the war.

In December a Magazine was started. It was edited by S. Blumenthal, a member of the Club, under the superintendence of a Committee of members who acted under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Stiebel. Nearly, if not quite the whole of it was written by members of the Club. The reports of athletic events which formed an important part of the magazine showed considerable journalistic skill. Notes by the Club humorist are worthy of mention but hardly of quotation. The magazine was typewritten, and two copies were put up in the Club.

In the Federation of London Working Boys' Clubs'

competitions, Nathan Lewis again won the prize for Shakespeare recitation, gaining the cup, and this year he was also placed first in the reading competition and second in the comic recitation, winning the bronze medal. The Club also entered for map drawing, draughts, and chess.

WEST-END JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES, M.A.

Treasurer.—JOSEPH LEON.

Hon. Secretaries. { L. J. HARRIS,
A. T. JOSEPH,
77 Sutherland Avenue, Maida Hill, W.

The Report showed that since the formation of the Society, on the 11th January last, four meetings had been held, at which papers of Jewish interest were read and discussed. It is the hope of the Committee that the Society should be self-supporting as far as the papers read before it are concerned as well as in other directions, and members willing to read papers or open debates are invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretaries as early as possible. Among the members who have promised to contribute to the programme of next session are the Revs. A. A. Green and Morris Joseph, Messrs. M. Emanuel, Laurie Magnus, and Charles Singer.

Four meetings have been held during the short session, as follows:—

1903.

- Feb. 8. Mr. H. S. Q. HENRIQUES, the President, delivered an Address.
- March 8. Mr. S. ROSENBAUM, B.Sc., read a Paper on "Alien Immigration from Eastern Europe."
- " 22. Mr. H. M. ADLER, M.A., opened a Debate on "Anti-Semitism, and How to Cope with it."
- April 5. Mr. L. JACOB read a Paper on "Isaiah."

BIRMINGHAM JEWISH YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION.*President.*—The Rev. A. A. GREEN.*Vice-Presidents.*

The Very Rev. Dr. ADLER,	HENRY DAVIS.
Chief Rabbi.	S. M. LEVY.
The Rev. G. J. EMANUEL,	B. H. JOSEPH.
B.A.	E. L. LEVI.
M. BERLYN.	J. PHILLIPS.
Councillor DAVID DAVIS.	

Chairman.—S. J. LEVI.*Treasurer.*—S. AHRONSBERG.

Hon. Secretaries. { L. J. LIBGOTT, 114 Bath Row.
 { E. GOODMAN, 53 Northampton Street.

PROGRAMME, 1902-1903.

1902.

- Oct. 26. Social Evening.
 Nov. 9. Presidential Address: "A few Observations from the Jewish Watch-tower." The Rev. A. A. GREEN.
 „ 23. Debate. Mr. E. LAWRENCE LEVY.
 Dec. 7. Lecture, "Roumania and its Jews." Mr. E. ZEITLYN.
 „ 20. Debate, "That Trusts, similar to American Trade Combinations, are Injurious to Commerce."

1903.

- Jan. 4. Social Evening.
 „ 18. Lecture, "Germs and their Effects," with Limelight Views. Mr. J. DENCER WHITTLES, B.D.S., L.D.S., Eng.
 Feb. 1. Lecture, "The Solace of Books." Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.
 „ 15. Paper, "Municipal Trading." Mr. Councillor O. F. FREEMAN.
 March 1. Joint Debate with the City Jewish Social and Literary Society (London).
 „ 15. Lecture, "My Library in 1902." Mr. E. LAWRENCE LEVY.

March 29. Prize Essay, "That the present Spiritual Unrest in English Jewry is a healthy Sign calling for Encouragement and justifying Hope." Discussion.

BRISTOL JEWISH SOCIAL AND DEBATING SOCIETY.

President.—A. J. JACOBS.

Vice-President.—H. SALANSON.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.—MISS OPPENHEIM,
12 Collingwood Road, Redland, Bristol.

November 23, 1902. Opening *Conversazione*.

December 3, 1902. The Society gave its Annual Concert in aid of the funds of the local Jewish Board of Guardians. It was most successful in every particular, and after all necessary expenses were paid, the President of the Society was able to hand over £60 to the President of the Board of Guardians.

December 7, 1902. A sharp practice debate was held amongst the members.

December 28. "Shylock." By the Rev. J. Polack, B.A.
January 11, 1903. Social Evening.

February 8, 1903. A sharp practice debate, the subject being: "That it is advisable that a Jewish Conference should be held to discuss problems of synagogue attendance and worship."

February 15, 1903. The third and last Social Evening was held by the members and their friends.

March 1, 1903. "Alien Immigration." By Mr. H. H. Gordon, of London. The lecture was followed by a social hour, during which several musical items were given by members.

March 15, 1903. Purim Treat. This is given annually to the poor children by the Debating Society. The little ones always look forward to it, and they are entertained first to a substantial tea, then to a magic lantern display, and on leaving each guest receives a toy and an orange.

March 22, 1903. "National Physical Education on the Continent." By Mr. Lawrence Levy, of Birmingham.

CARDIFF JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.*President.*—J. SAMUEL.*Chairman.*—R. PHILLIPS.*Vice-Chairman.*—S. EINSTEIN.*Treasurer.*—B. SHALSON.*Hon. Secretary.*—A. A. EINSTEIN, 52 Neville Street, Cardiff.*Assistant Secretary.*—D. M. PHILLIPS.**GLASGOW JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.***Hon. President.*—ISIDOR MORRIS, J.P.*Hon. Vice-Presidents.*

J. FRANKENBURG.

C. B. MABON.

JULIUS PINTO.

M. T. COHEN.

DAVID HEILBRON.

J. FOX.

OTTO SIESEL.

S. S. SAMUEL.

President.—MICHAEL SIMONS, J.P.*Vice-President.*—B. HEILBRON.*Treasurer.*—JACOB KRAMRISCH.*Hon. Secretary.*—GRANVILLE HEILBRON, 26 India Street.*Assistant Hon. Secretaries.* { D. FRIEND.
H. J. PHILLIPS.

1902.

Nov. 9. President's Reception. Mr. M. SIMONS, J.P.

,, 16. Lecture, "The Wisdom of Solomon." Mr. CLAUDE
G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.,, 23. Lecture, "Certain Aspects of the Mosaic Law and their
Interpretation." Professor JOHN GLAISTER, M.D.

Dec. 7. Parliamentary Debate.

,, 21. "At Home."

1903.

Jan. 11. Lecture, "Judas Maccabæus" (Limelight Views).
Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.,, 18. Debate, "Should Alien Immigration be Restricted?"
Mr. J. PINTO, *Neg.*; Mr. B. HEILBRON, *Aff.*

Feb. 1. "At Home."

,, 8. Lecture, "The Communal Outlook." Rev. A. A.
GREEN, London.

,, 15. "Hat Night."

March 1. Lecture, "Nationality." Rev. DAVID MACRAE.

LEEDS JEWISH YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

27 BRUNSWICK TERRACE, LEEDS.

Hon. President.—PAUL HIRSCH, J.P.*Hon. Vice-Presidents.*

Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.

V. LIGHTMAN.

J. COHEN.

M. LUBELSKI.

A. FELDMAN.

J. ROSENBOM.

J. L. FOX.

A. WOOLFE.

Chairman.—A. FELDMAN.*Vice-Chairman.*—H. LOVEDALE.*Treasurer.*—Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.*Hon. Secretary.*—ISAAC DAVIDSON.

In presenting the Sixth Annual Report and Balance-Sheet of the Leeds Jewish Young Men's Association the Committee is highly gratified at being able to show a distinct progress, both from a financial and social point of view.

In the early part of the year a Share-Fund was opened to receive advances from 10s. upwards towards the re-decorating and refitting of the premises of the Association, and it was a source of satisfaction to the Committee to observe how readily the members came forward with their advances.

In reviewing the events of the year it is pleasing to note that there has been some interesting debates and lectures, amongst them being a lecture by the Rev. M. Abrahams, B.A., on "The Life of Maimonides," and another by Dr. Ralph Hopton on "China," both lectures being illustrated by limelight effects. Amongst those who took part in the debates, and whom the Committee sincerely thank, are Messrs. A. Poyser, I. Davidson, H. M. Lipman, L. Goodman. S. Saffer, J. Myers.

In addition to these literary entertainments a few Mock Trials took place; whilst numerous concerts, both smoking and Bohemian, proved highly entertaining to members and visitors (including ladies).

During the year there have been some very pleasant

interchanges of courtesies between the members of the Association and members of similar institutions. These compliments were reciprocated by the various clubs when members of this Association visited them.

The departure from Leeds for South Africa of Mr. J. B. Shacksnovis was made the occasion of presenting that gentleman with an illuminated address as a token of appreciation of his services to the Association.

The Committee, whilst attending to the needs of the members of the Association, has nevertheless not been unmindful of the calls of the local Jewish Charities, and it was a source of intense satisfaction to every one concerned that the Committee was able to distribute the following donations by means of Bohemian concerts: Three guineas to the Jewish Board of Guardians, and one guinea each to the Jewish Ladies' Benevolent Society, the "Achnosas Orchim Society," and the Talmud Torah.

LIVERPOOL JEWISH YOUNG MEN'S SOCIETY.

President.—E. K. YATES.

Vice-President.—J. SCHNEIDER.

Treasurer.—H. ISAACS.

Hon. Secretary.—BEN W. KOSKE, 49 Pleasant Street,
Liverpool.

The Liverpool Jewish Young Men's Society was formed in September 1902 for the purpose of promoting social and intellectual intercourse amongst the Jewish young men of Liverpool.

The Society was officially opened on October 26th, 1902, by Mr. E. K. Yates, attended by the Rev. John S. Harris, Captain Henriques (of Manchester), Messrs. B. Stern, M. S. Yates, and A. Levy, all of whom addressed very encouraging remarks to the members, and during the course of the evening Mr. E. K. Yates was elected Honorary President.

The members meet three nights per week at the club-rooms, where interesting and instructive amusements are

provided, and every effort is exerted by the officers and committee to promote social intercourse and generally improve the literary status of the members.

To aid the Society in the latter portion of its work Rev. John S. Harris, while addressing the members, advocated affiliation to the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, London, and recognising therein a valuable auxiliary to enhance its literary propaganda, the Society decided to become attached to that organisation.

The Society has just emerged from a successful literary season, and the keen interest and appreciation evinced in the various items of the past syllabus, which consisted of lectures, debates, parliamentary evenings, chess matches (arranged by Mr. Sol. I. Levy), social evenings, &c., prompt the committee to arrange for the coming season on a more elaborate scale.

Up to the present it cannot be said that Liverpool has done much in the way of Literary Societies and Social Clubs for Jewish young men; each individual attempt that has been made in this direction has hitherto invariably resulted in a fiasco.

That Liverpool of all cities should be so behindhand in this important work is indeed to be regretted, and there is no doubt that in every instance the failure has been due to the lack of popular interest and public support.

Now, however, things have a brighter outlook; support is given from, and interest is shown in quarters from which the former has never before been evoked, or the latter displayed, and many influential gentlemen of the city have at last awakened to the fact that it lies in their power to do a great deal towards effectively and permanently establishing an institution in Liverpool where Jewish boys may associate, to their social, intellectual, and general advantage.

This certainly bodes well, and with good management there is nothing to retard the progress of the Liverpool Jewish Young Men's Society.

MANCHESTER JEWISH WORKING MEN'S CLUB,

EXCHANGE STREET, CHEETHAM.

President.—BERNHARD STEEL.*Vice-Presidents.*

Rev. Dr. SALOMON.

Rev. H. LEVIN.

Rev. J. H. VALENTINE.

A. J. S. BLES, J.P.

EDWARD BEHRENS.

GUSTAV BEHRENS, J.P.

I. A. ISAACS.

OTTO SEISEL.

Ald. FRANKENBERG, J.P.

S. LICHTENSTEIN.

H. L. ROTHBAND.

G. C. MANDLEBERG, J.P.

Capt. S. L. MANDLEBERG.

G. B. BEHRENS.

L. ROTHBAND.

Treasurer.—H. MEYERSTONE.*Hon. Secretary.*—LEVY DAVIS.*Hon. Solicitor.*—JOSEPH LUSTGARTEN.

The year just closed, the sixteenth of the Club's existence, has proved quite uneventful. The general depression in trade, commented upon in last year's Report as having an adverse effect on the finances of the Club, has again militated against that rapid progress which has for some few years past been the rule. Despite decreases in nearly all departments, the Committee, however, sees no ground for despondency. It is pleasing to note that the membership, always the mainstay of any Institution, shows no decrease, the number slightly exceeding 1300.

The Literary and Debating Committee has pleasure in reporting a session of active and useful work. The Lectures delivered during the session were both interesting and instructive, and were heartily appreciated by all who attended them. It is purposed during next session to introduce the Musical Lecture to as large an extent as may be found possible. Thanks are due, and are gratefully tendered, to the Revs. A. Wolf, Dr. Landau, and W. Reynolds; Messrs. John Hemsall, A. Brooks, and

I. Raffalovitch, for delivering Lectures; to the Graduates of Owens College who took part in the set debate between the Club and themselves, and to Mr. Joseph Lustgarten for organising a Musical Shakspearean evening.

The Committee of the Debating Society has again made strenuous efforts to carry on a work almost essential to the well-being of an Institution such as this. A number of highly successful meetings—in spite of adverse circumstances—provide indications of the members' appreciation of those efforts. Debates were opened by Messrs. Joseph Lustgarten, B. Shapera, H. M. Feinberg, L. Simon, R. C. Hall, J. Schorr, A. Aronovich, and W. Allen, to whom thanks are due.

It is with pleasure that the Librarian is able to report that in his department the same interest prevails which caused such favourable comment from the Committee in last year's Report. There is an increasing demand for new books, which it has not been found possible, under all circumstances, to comply with to the desired extent. The request for gifts of books from friends and well-wishers has not met with any response. Such gifts will be always welcomed by the Librarian.

THE PARK PLACE SYNAGOGUE ASSOCIATION,

MANCHESTER.

President.—MAX HESSE.

<i>Vice- Presidents.</i>	{	J. BAUER.
		Dr. C. DREYFUS, J.P.
		A. ECKSTEIN.

E. H. LANGDON, B.A.

Treasurer.—The Rev. A. WOLF, M.A.

<i>Hon. Secretaries.</i>	{	The Rev. A. WOLF, M.A., 368 Bury New Road,
		Higher Broughton.
		M. DANZIGER, Oker Villa, Higher Broughton.

It is with more than ordinary gratification that the Committee finds itself in a position to state that the sanguine

hopes raised by the success of the first brief Session have in no way proved delusive. On all sides the new movement has been voted a success, and, highest of all compliments, the Association is not without its imitators, which the Committee cordially welcomes. In a city like Manchester there is room enough for more than one such Association.

The numerical strength of the Society has been well maintained. The Association now numbers 156 members, against 153 in the previous year.

The arrangements for the second session have been far more elaborate than those for the first. Indeed, both financially and otherwise, the programme may have seemed too ambitious for a society just feeling its way. But it has been carried out nevertheless, and carried out successfully. Moreover, the programme has been followed with very little deviation from its original form: there have been no omissions, and very few modifications. Altogether eleven meetings have been held, viz., five lectures at the Synagogue, and five lectures and a dance at the Cheetham Town Hall. The lectures at the Synagogue were preceded by a brief Choral Service, and other sacred music. The lectures at the Town Hall were supplemented by a musical entertainment, and there were also intervals for conversation and refreshments.

As regards lecturers there is unhappily a serious dearth, though it is confidently anticipated that the demand will help to create a supply. Five of the ten lectures were delivered by the same lecturer, two others by visitors from London, and yet another by a Christian friend. This does not speak well for local Jewish literary talent, but there is ground for hope in the future. It is expected, moreover, that the Union of Jewish Literary Societies will be of some help in future. Of good music, on the other hand, there is happily no dearth. The Society is fortunate enough to count among its members and friends many excellent artists who have given their services unstintingly throughout the Session.

The following is a summary of events of the past Session:—

1902.

- (1) Sat. Nov. 8. Lecture by Sir W. BAILEY on "The Patriotic Poetry of Shakespeare."
- (2) Sun. ,, 23. At the Park Place Synagogue, first of a Course of Lectures on "Jewish History," by the Rev. A. WOLF, M.A.
- (3) Sat. Dec. 6. Lecture by the Rev. S. SINGER on "The Jews of Rome."
- (4) Sun. ,, 21. Second Lecture on "Jewish History."

1903.

- (5) Sat. Jan. 17. Lecture by Dr. A. EICHHOLZ, M.A., on "Jewish School Children."
- (6) Sun. ,, 25. Third Lecture on "Jewish History."
- (7) Sat. Feb. 14. Addresses on "Zionism," by Councillor Dr. C. DREYFUS, J.P., and Mr. P. J. HARTOG, B.Sc.
- (8) Sun. ,, 22. Fourth Lecture on "Jewish History."
- (9) Sat. March 14. (Purim.) Annual Dance.
- (10) Sun. ,, 22. Fifth Lecture on "Jewish History."
- (11) Sat. May 2. Lecture on "Ireland," by Mrs. SALIS SIMON.

The third and the last lectures were illustrated by lantern slides, thanks to the kind services of Mr. Lowe and Mr. A. Franks respectively.

An interesting innovation of the past Session consisted in an attempt to start a Musical Society in connection with the Association. At the preliminary meeting held at the minister's house, there seemed no lack of enthusiasm, and some twenty-five members were enrolled. The services of the Synagogue organist, Mr. Buckton, were procured, and weekly practices were held, first at the minister's house, latterly at the Synagogue, which is more central. Unhappily, owing chiefly to long distances and inclement weather, the initial enthusiasm waned all too

soon, and the new departure cannot be called a success. For all that it would be rash to call it a complete failure. For it has been of some service to the Association, particularly in connection with the Choral Services which preceded the lectures held at the Synagogue, and it has helped to keep together the members of the Voluntary Choir, in recognition of which the Choir Committee of the Synagogue have kindly defrayed all the expenditure incurred by the experiment. The Committee therefore trusts that the Musical Society will not be allowed to lapse, and that more hopeful results will be achieved in future.

NEWPORT (MON.) JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTE.

President.—LESLIE JACOBS.

Vice-President and Treasurer.—HENRY PHILLIPS.

Hon. Secretary.—ALFRED A. JACOBS, 2 Alice Street,
Newport, Mon.

The session proved one of the most successful the Society has ever had.

During the year the Society sent delegates to attend the Conference of the Literary Societies held in London. It was the means of the Society becoming affiliated to the Union, on the Executive Committee of which Mr. Leslie Jacobs, the President of the Newport Society, was elected. The syllabus of the year included papers by the following gentlemen:—

1902.

- Nov. 2. Rev. J. B. MENKIN, of Cardiff, on "Maimonides, his Writings and his Philosophy."
Dec. 14. Rev. J. POLACK, of Clifton, on "Reuchlin and the Battle of the Books."

1903.

- Jan. 1. Mr. BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B., of London, on "A Glance at Anglo-Jewish History," with limelight illustrations.
- Feb. 1. Mr. L. S. HARRIS, of Tredegar, on "Zionism."
- " 15. Mr. DAVID SELINE, of Swansea, on "The Jews of Rome and Greece after the Dispersion."
- March 1. Rev. J. ABELSON, of Bristol, on "Heine."

The number of members is over 40, and there are good prospects of an increase.

It is the intention of the Committee to promote the reading of papers amongst the members, and also to introduce debates.

The treasurer in placing the balance sheet before the members has to congratulate them on having a large balance in hand after paying several debts owing from previous years.

SWANSEA JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—HYAM GOLDBERG.

Vice-President.—A. LYONS.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.—The Rev. S. FYNE,
46 Carlton Terrace, Swansea.

This Society was formed on the 1st June $\frac{1902}{5662}$. The session began on the 2nd November $\frac{1902}{5663}$, when Dr. J. Snowman, of London, delivered the Inaugural Address, and read a paper on "The Position of Judaism in the Conflict between Religion and Science." The meeting was well attended, as were also the subsequent ones, when papers were read by the following gentlemen:—

Rev. S. FYNE on "The Samaritans."

Mr. D. SELINE on "The Jews in Greece and Rome after the Dispersion."

- Rev. J. POLACK, B.A. on "Shylock."
 Mr. A. LYONS on "The Importance of Jewish History for Jews."
 Mr. BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B. on "The Students' Quarter in Paris" (Illustrated).
 Rev. S. FYNE on "Daniel."
 Mr. W. W. MIRON on "The Care of the Mouth and Teeth."

Subsequent to the ordinary business of the annual meeting, Mr. Hyam Goldberg (the retiring President) gave a short paper on "Anglo-Judaism in the 19th Century." A debate was held on 1st February, the subject being "Is Political Zionism a Solution of the Jewish Question?" Two very successful musical evenings were also held during the session under the auspices of the Society.

THE TREDEGAR JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

President.—S. LOUIS HARRIS.

Vice-President.—LIONEL HARRIS.

Treasurer.—M. FINE.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss MAUD FINE, High Street, Rhymney.

Assistant Secretary.—J. L. WOLFSON.

The above Society was formed on October 12, 1902, and has a membership of fifty-four ladies and gentlemen. Its session ran a most successful course, and lasted from the 19th October to the 8th of March, 1903. Twenty-three general meetings were held, six committee meetings, and two social gatherings. The average attendance of members was thirty, but at the last social gathering, when members were privileged to bring their friends, the number present was between seventy and eighty.

Special features during the session were the following: On November 27th an evening party was given to the members of the Society by Mrs. T. Fine at her residence, High Street, Rhymney. On December 28th a paper was

given by Mr. B. Jacobs, LL.B., London, on "A Glance at Anglo-Jewish History."

On February 1st the President, by invitation of the "Jewish Institute" at Newport, represented his Society by giving a paper on Zionism in that town.

On March 1st it was unanimously resolved to purchase the "Jewish Encyclopædia."

On March 8th, at the last meeting of the session, it was decided to have a summer session,

1902.

- Nov. 2. "Reward and Punishment." Paper by Mr. H. FRENCH.
- 9. "Music and Poetry." Debate.
- 16. Readings from Shakspeare.
- 23. "Is Vanity more Predominant among Women than among Men?" Debate.
- 30. "Is Judaism Declining?" Debate.
- Dec. 7. Musical Evening.
- 14. "Are Jews a Nation or a Religious Body?" Mr. G. ROSENBAUM.
- 21. "Bar Cochba; or, The Last Attempt to regain National Independence." Mr. M. HARRIS.
- 28. "A Glance at Anglo-Jewish History." Mr. B. JACOBS, LL.B.

1903.

- Jan. 4. "Felix Mendelssohn." Miss M. SAMUEL.
- 11. "Does Anti-Semitism exist in England?" Debate.
- 18. Impromptu Debate.
- 25. "Is Zionism Practicable?" Mr. M. SAMSON.
- Feb. 1. "Is the Jew a Benefit to the Nation?" Mr. J. LOVE.
- 8. "Should Fiction take a High Place in Literature?" Debate.
- 15. Humorous Readings.
- 22. "Can Riches be honestly Acquired?" Debate.
- March 1. "The Jewish Faith." Mr. MARCUS HARRIS.
- 8. "Baron Hirsch." Mr. A. SHANE.

THE JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY (MELBOURNE).

President.—B. A. LEVINSON, B.A., LL.B.

Vice-Presidents. { Miss ADELE ELLIS, M.A.
H. A. BRANDT.
NAHUM BARNETT.

Treasurer.—J. LEVI.

Hon. Secretary.—E. S. LEVINSON, 9 Beaconsfield Parade,
St. Kilda, Victoria.

The following were the literary fixtures for 1902:—

- May 13. "The Jew in English Literature." By Mr. P. D. PHILLIPS.
- „ 27. Debate, "Should we obey Mrs. Grundy?"
- June 12. "Ruskin." By the Rev. Dr. C. STRONG.
- „ 24. Debate. "That Australia shows more Indication of Future Greatness than South Africa."
- July 8. "Spinoza." By Professor LAURIE, LL.D.
- „ 22. "English Society in Disraeli's Earlier Days." By Miss A. ELLIS, M.A.
- "The Federal Judiciary." By Mr. P. A. JACOBS, B.A., LL.B.
- Aug. 5. "Heine." By Professor TUCKER, Litt.D.
- „ 19. "The Maccabees." By the Rev. Dr. ABRAHAMS, M.A.
- Sept. 2. Debate. "That the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, as Statesman and Patriot, is deserving of History's Encomium."
- „ 16. "The Verona of Romeo and Juliet." By Mr. JAMES SMITH.
- "Phases of Affection" ("Twelfth Night"). By Dr. J. P. WILSON.
- Shakespearean Songs and Selections.
- „ 30. "Lasalle and Marx." By Mr. MAX HIRSCH.
- Oct. 28. Presidential Address: "Disraeli in Politics. Twenty Years after."

SIX LECTURES

JEHUDA HALEVI

*A PAPER READ BEFORE THE JEWS' COLLEGE
LITERARY SOCIETY ON JUNE 2, 1902*

By ISRAEL COHEN

THE intellectual activity of the Jews in Spain in the Middle Ages is remarkable for its inclusion of secular studies. Until the dawn of the tenth century the Jewish mind was concentrated on the Talmud, and nothing could lure it from that fascinating work, the constant companion of a religious life, that had not likewise a religious end in view. Hence the settlement of the Massoretic reading of the Bible and the compilation of various ritual laws are the principal events of literary history during the period in which the Talmud exerted its uninterrupted spell. But on migrating to Spain, the Jews, though they brought the Talmud with them and continued to maintain towards it the affection of old, devoted considerable energy to the cultivation of science, philosophy, and poetry. In the region of science they were particularly attracted to the study of medicine and astronomy, and distinguished themselves sufficiently to obtain appointments as physicians and astronomers at the courts of Christian and Moslem kings; but their activity found no outlet in any work of literary importance. In philosophy they were chiefly concerned in reconciling its results with the teachings of Judaism, so that their works in this sphere are more of religious than philosophical interest. But it was in the realm of poetry that they displayed the most enthusiastic industry and achieved the most lasting results. A school of poets arose who infused new life and vigour into the

Hebrew language, and enriched Jewish literature with a remarkable wealth of song, wherein not merely the sufferings of Israel and the longing for the Redemption found moving expression, but the joys of love and friendship and the praises of wine and youth were sounded with rapturous glee. At the head of this school of poets stands the immortal name of Jehuda Halevi.

In his brilliant fragment on this Hebrew poet of mediæval Spain, Heine, who could hardly have enjoyed the beauties of Jehuda Halevi's art in their original dress, has a most striking figure in his praise. He pictures the Almighty, after creating the poet, as so profoundly pleased with his handiwork that He kissed him on the lips, and the sound of the kiss re-echoes in all his songs. The boldness of this imagery is fully justified by the transcendent merits of the poet in whose honour it was conceived. His very earliest production, addressed to Moses ibn Ezra, the most prominent Hebrew poet of the day, was hailed by him with joy and surprise in an ode of congratulation which abounded in laudatory epithets. The Rabbi-philosopher, Joseph ben Zaddik, of Cordova, no mean poet himself, spoke of him as "the father of song, reared by the hands of Agur the Wise, and nursed by Deborah the Prophetess."

"Is Judah a gazelle or lion's whelp,
That gentleness is found in him with strength
Commingled?"

The satirical author of the "Tachkemoni," Jehuda Alcharisi, whom Heine calls a Voltaire six hundred years before Voltaire lived, accords to Jehuda Halevi a pre-eminence above all his contemporaries, which is equivalent to the sovereignty of the realm of post-Biblical poetry. He depicts him as a giant who lifts up his spear against the warriors of song and leaves them slain, and in comparison with his works pronounces the psalms of the sons of Korah to be vain. "In the composition of the *piyut*

his language is pure and refined; in his hymns he draws every heart and subdues it; in his songs of pleasure his utterance is as a layer of dew, yet coals burn therefrom; in his elegies he bursts the cloud of weeping and causes it to flow; and if he indites a letter or a scroll, thou wilt find every elegant phrase enshrined therein." In modern times, Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), of Padua, brought to light many hitherto unknown poems of Jehuda Halevi, which he edited with notes, and he would rank the mediæval singer with the great poets of the world. His contemporaries, Zunz, Michael Sachs, Geiger, and Grätz, by their studies and criticisms of the poet, and by their numerous translations from his works, have disseminated a knowledge and appreciation of his peerless character among students of general literature. It was by means of Sachs' writings on the religious poetry of the Jews in Spain that Heine himself became acquainted with "Jehuda ben Halevy," as he erroneously styles the poet; and although he communed with his spirit through a German medium, he expressed for him the deepest reverence and the most enthusiastic admiration.

"In sooth he was a mighty poet,
Undisputed lord of fancy,
Diadem'd as spirits' sovereign,
Poet by the grace of God."

Jehuda Halevi was born about 1085 in Toledo, in the province of Castile, which had just been brought under Christian dominion. His full name is Abulhassan Jehuda ben Samuel Halevi (Ibn Allevi). Nothing is known of his father, but he seems to have belonged to a family in well-to-do circumstances. At an early age Jehuda proceeded to the college of Rabbi Isaac Alfassi, at Lucena, in southern Spain, where he studied the Talmud and other branches of Rabbinic lore. At home he had already been grounded in the principles of Hebrew grammar, and had mastered the Torah and its commentaries. Simultaneously

with his Talmudic studies he also acquired a knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, geometry, and, above all, medicine, to which he applied himself with especial industry. But the bent of his mind lay neither in the direction of the dialectics of the Babylonian sages nor in that of scientific research. He was of a poetic temperament, and he was endowed with the skill to give it effective expression. The Jews of Spain had developed a new system of prosody on the basis of Arabic versification, and Hebrew poetry was widely cultivated. This subject had a magnetic attraction for Jehuda Halevi, for already he had the soul of a poet, and he wanted but to learn the forms of verse and the laws of metre which his pen must observe in turning to shape "the forms of things unknown" bodied forth by his imagination. His first experiment in this art was a surprising success. It was a poem which the youthful aspirant addressed to his older and famous contemporary, Moses ibn Ezra, at Granada, and the flattering acknowledgment which he received united the two in a bond of friendship, which was sundered only by death. He also engaged in the study of philosophy and the physics of his age, the fruits of which are found mature in his religious-philosophical work, the "Kuzari." Besides Hebrew, a wonderful and subtle medium in his hands, he also wrote Arabic and Castilian, though in these languages he confined himself to prose.

The year of Jehuda Halevi's return to his native city of Toledo is unknown, but it was probably early in the first decade of the twelfth century. He practised medicine for a livelihood, and obtained an extensive and lucrative connection among Gentiles as well as among his own co-religionists. But he had no liking for the profession, and in a letter addressed to a certain David ben Joseph, of Narbonne, who had applied to him for a solution of some scientific questions, he expressed the feeling of discontent and restraint under which he ministered to the

ills of his patients. "I am constantly engrossed in the vanities of medicine, which cannot cure. And the city is great, and its inhabitants are giants, and they are cruel masters, and how can a servant please his masters except by spending his days in their desires, and by wasting his years in curing their maladies?" He even regarded his work as a bondage from which he prayed to be delivered, in order that he might betake himself to a centre of literary activity, where he would refresh himself from "the fountains of the wise." He had little faith in the virtues of his prescriptions, trusting rather that Divine benevolence would provide a fortunate issue.

But however harassing his professional duties, he found relief therefrom in the pleasurable pursuit of poetry. Like singers of all times he tuned his lyre to the praises of his beloved, whom he reproached with cruelty of heart. He addresses her as "Ophrah," which means doe, and pours out his love to her in a multitude of graceful lyrics, in which the constancy of his affection is the sweet persistent note. His tears are so copious that she may cleanse her robes therein, and then dry them in the sunshine of her eyes. Whether all his erotic compositions were directed to one person is a matter we may doubt. That his wife was the inspiration of a great number is a natural and plausible conjecture; but the love for writing about love did not cease with marriage, and the poet transferred to an ideal being the passion with which he had yearned for the real. His heart was susceptible to the joys of others also, and he hailed the nuptial stage in the lives of his friends with odes expressing the deepest sentiments of joy and congratulation in rhythm that seemed an echo of his own exultation.

Jehuda Halevi had a theme congenial to his amiable nature in these Epithalamia, which were peculiar to the Jews who lived in countries populated by Arabs. Sometimes he addresses the bridegroom, but oftener the bride, whose name suggests to him a wealth of happy imagery,

which his pen skilfully reproduces. Many of these odes were composed in the form of acrostics on his own name, each stanza beginning with a different letter, in the manner already established by his predecessors. Their general tenour may be appreciated from the following example:—

“O fair one, whither bent? With gentle sway
And mild thy rule o'er hearts exert, I pray.
Because in times of yore with lustful eye
They sinned, wilt now thy loving self deny?
Thy pure and peerless beauty now reveal,
Nor strive thy radiant visage to conceal.
That they who gaze may not the void behold,
But sate their eyes upon thy charms untold.
Like sparkling sapphire softly gleams thy cheek,
O gem serene, why molten jewels seek?
And how shall he, endued with avid sight,
Refrain from gaze upon such chaste delight?
So come, my friend, who dost in love rejoice,
With blissful heart we'll raise our merry voice,
And deeply drink the wine of glowing lips,
For sweeter love than sweetest nectar sips.
So drink, O friends, and deep, companions mine,
In bounteous hall full bowls of gushing wine;
And add unto this feast-day's glad delights,
By luring from their vows all Nazirites.”¹

The stimulating vine was also the subject of special praises. To a friend who presented him with a cruse of wine, he replied:—

“To thee I'll sing my sweetest lays,
Throughout my destined course of days,
And to the grape's refreshing draught,
Whereof my eager lips have quaffed.

“‘My brother’ shall I call the cruse,
Which thus for thee my friendship woos,
For from its luscious mouth I taste
My choicest pleasure, best, and chaste.

¹ “Achiasaf Edit.,” f. 139.

"Until my friends in deep surprise,
In me a drunkard do surmise,
And chide me for my passion strong,
And ask, 'How long wilt drink, how long?'

"To them I instantly reply :
'Shall Gilead's balm before me lie,
And shall I stay from potion pure
Designed my racking ills to cure?

"'And how, indeed, can I reject
The cruse by others dearly recked,
When yet my age I have in store,
And all my years are twenty-four?'"¹

Jehuda Halevi's bright and attractive disposition won for him the friendship of the most distinguished Jews of his time, of which we have imperishable memorials in some of the happiest efforts of his muse. Prominent among these friends is Moses ibn Ezra, who complimented Jehuda on his first experiment in verse, and who engaged in a poetical correspondence with him until his own death in 1139. He was one of four brothers who lived in Granada, in a position of ease and influence, and with each of whom Jehuda was personally acquainted. His outlook on life was embittered by his misfortune in love. He became passionately enamoured of the daughter of one of his brothers, who all resolutely opposed his marriage to her. He was driven beside himself with grief, which was further increased by the faithlessness of his friends, and in his desperation he abandoned his home and became a wanderer. Jehuda Halevi endeavoured to heal the broken heart of his friend, and poured forth his sorrow at his departure in many a poem overflowing with sentiments of lofty esteem and profound affection. He compared Moses ibn Ezra to the Ark of the Covenant which has been banished afar, and declared that his eyes had begun to fail with watching for his return. His plight was sad and solitary: without son or brother, Time at last had presented him with a faithful friend one day, but

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," i. 130.

on the next cruelly snatched him away. In one of these odes of lamentation he wrote as follows:—

“How shall I find repose when thou art gone?
 Thou wanderest afar, and after thee
 My heart doth wander too. My love had all
 Expired, when from my side into the world
 Thou didst elect to roam, if ne’er thy hand
 In life and love again I hoped to clasp.
 Light of the West!—unto the West restore
 Thy rays, and cheer the heart of pining friends.
 The cloven mountains, lo! attest that sparse
 And scant the rain descends beside the streams
 Of flowing tears I lavish bounteously.
 O pure of speech, why dost abide ’mong strange
 Of tongue? Like Hermon’s due beneficent,
 Why rest on cursed Gilboä’s fatal heights?”¹

On the death of Judah ibn Ezra, the eldest of the brothers, Jehuda Halevi composed a brief but touching elegy; and at the loss of another brother, Joseph, our poet again hastened to express his heartfelt sympathy with his sorrowing friend. Finally, on the death of Moses ibn Ezra himself, he poured forth his grief in an elegy honouring his name and bewailing his decease. There were other poets too with whom Jehuda Halevi maintained a lively friendship and engaged in poetic correspondence. Of these the most important were Solomon ben Al-Moallem and Judah ben Giath, of Granada, both of whom have their praises sung by Alcharisi, though no remains of their works are extant. With the Rabbi-philosopher of Cordova, Joseph ben Zaddik (author of a work entitled “Olam Katan”), the grammarian of Saragossa, Levi ben Al-Thabban, and the aged poet Judah Abbas, Jehuda Halevi also interchanged verses. As early as 1103, on the death of his teacher, the famous Isaac Alfassi, he composed an epitaph in which he depicts the angels of God as having inscribed the Law on the tablets of his heart. Alfassi was succeeded by his pupil, Joseph ben Migash, to whom Jehuda addressed an ode of congratulation, and in whose honour he afterwards wrote

¹ “Achiasaf Edit.,” i. 91.

an epithalamium. Of his numerous other friends in Spain, whose names have been perpetuated by their association with certain of his poems, may be mentioned Solomon ben Farizul. The latter was a kinsman of Jehuda Halevi, and his expected return from a long journey was greeted by the poet in a song radiant with joy and affection, when suddenly the news of his murder arrived, plunging Jehuda into the deepest distress, and calling forth from him an elegy that re-echoes with his sobs. Abraham ibn Ezra, the celebrated wit, wanderer, and commentator, gives several explanations of the text in the name of Jehuda Halevi, in his commentaries on the Pentateuch and Psalms, but no intimate friendship existed between them. A legend actually became current, thanks to the invention of Gedaliah ibn Yachiah, author of the "Chain of Tradition," that Ibn Ezra was a son-in-law of Jehuda Halevi; but the source of its origin, were there no independent evidence, would be enough to discredit it.

Jehuda Halevi was of a much more amiable and happy disposition than his contemporary Moses ibn Ezra or his predecessor Solomon ibn Gebirol. He did not experience the personal misfortune of the former nor was he a prey to the melancholy of the latter, but invariably looked on the bright side of life. His personal attractiveness, perhaps more than his fame as a poet, made him much sought after, and he entertained the company which he honoured with his presence by proposing rhymed riddles, in the manner of Arab wits. The renown which he enjoyed must have inspired many poetasters with emulation, who strove in vain to follow in his footsteps. Jehuda was displeased by their pretentious effusions, and for a time laid his pen aside with a feeling of repulsion. On being asked why he had ceased to write, he replied :—

"Polluted is the sacred fount of song,
Therefore my soul in loathing turned away;
How shall the lion roam his path along,
Where puny foxes swarm in pert display?"¹

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," i. 130.

He even became discontented with the art of poetry itself, on the ground of its artificiality, and in his philosophical work, the "Kuzari," he deplores the decadence which it has undergone since the glorious days of King David. He himself employed the current forms of versification, though he did not follow the Arabic models as slavishly as Moses ibn Ezra. A great number of his poems are constructed in the form of an acrostic, sometimes on his full name, though more often on Jehuda alone, while others again have in addition the word *pm*. In rhyme he is peculiarly rich, or rather extravagantly lavish. Frequently a verse consists of four strophes, the first three of which have the same rhyme, while the fourth rhymes with the last strophe of all the other verses. The inflexional nature of the Hebrew language renders it particularly fertile in rhyme, as the harmony of sound can be produced by simply using the same suffix over again. Plays on words abound in almost every poem, whether grave or gay, while the interweaving of Biblical phrases—generally with a distortion of the original meaning—in their compositions, sacred or secular, is a characteristic common to all the Spanish Jewish poets. Jehuda is reported by his pupil, Solomon Parchon, of Salerno (1160), to have repented of the artificiality of form which he had observed. But penitence was not followed by reform, for in his latest as in his earliest productions the same attention to externals and the same artistic elaboration are everywhere apparent.

Hitherto we have considered only the secular poems of Jehuda Halevi, those which were inspired by private feelings of love and friendship and even sensual delight, or which were composed on the melancholy occasion of a great man's death. But the perfection of his art, the grandeur of his language, and the sublimity of his passion, were not reached until the strain of religious seriousness in his character became his dominant emotion and coloured all his thoughts, so that henceforth all the products of his

brain were permeated with the love of God, with pity for Israel, and with the longing for Zion. Heine has made a striking contrast between the theme which the mediæval troubadours chose for their muse and that upon which the Hebrew poet of Castile lavished all his skill and his enthusiasm. *They* sang the praises of their capricious lady-loves; *he* glorified the vanished beauty of his "woe-begone darling," his beloved Jerusalem. The sense of nationality held strong possession of his soul, making him look upon his people as destined to remain apart from all other nations, however intimately they intermingled with them in the business of life. Their sorrows wrung from him many an impassioned song glowing with righteous ire and strengthening hope, but he did not despair of their ultimate triumph, for he had an invincible faith in the immortality of Israel. This creed he has beautifully enshrined in the following poem:—

"THE IMMORTALITY OF ISRAEL"¹

"The sun and moon unchanging do obey
 The laws that never cease or night or day.
 Appointed signs are they to Jacob's seed
 That life eternal hath been them decreed.
 And though, O Lord, thy left hand dealeth pain,
 Thy right shall lead them back to joy again.
 Let not despair oppress their quailing heart,
 Though radiant Fortune from their midst depart.
 But let this constant faith their soul uphold,
 That in the Book of Life their name's enrolled
 For all eternity: nor shall they cease
 While night and day do alternate in peace."

For the most part peace and toleration were the lot of the Jews under Alfonso VI., even fighting on the Sabbath in the course of a campaign being forbidden out of regard for the scruples of Jewish soldiers. But scoffers and scorers were not wanting in that, as in every other age; attempts at conversion were constantly practised; and

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," i. 72.

even Jehuda Halevi himself is supposed to have been approached by some misguided zealot desirous of saving his soul. The thunderstorm of indignation which must have greeted the hapless evangelist can easily be imagined. On one occasion when the faith of the poet was tried, he gave utterance to his unflinching devotion to his religion in the following inspiring words:—

“THE PRIDE OF A JEW¹

“With all my heart, in truth, and passion strong,
I love Thee: both in solitude and throng
Thy name's with me, alone I shall not bide:
My friend art Thou, though others from me glide.
My lamp art too: my light shall never fade,
Nor shall my foot e'er slip, by Thee upstayed.
They little knew who have despised me so,
That shaming me doth cause my pride to glow.
O Fountain of my life, I'll bless Thee aye,
And sing Thy praises, O my song, always!”

With increasing years came increasing seriousness, and Jehuda Halevi dedicated his muse to God. The treasury of religious songs that he has bestowed on Hebrew literature and on the liturgy of the synagogue is almost inestimable. The history of his people was re-enacted before his sight, and many of its stirring incidents were glorified by him in poems whose brilliancy of expression equals their nobility of conception. Most of these historical poems are contained in the ritual for Passover and the Feast of Weeks. But there were other aspects in the life of his people, besides events of the past, upon which his mind loved to dwell, and they are all presented with a like enthusiasm and joy. Over three hundred of these sacred songs have been enumerated by Luzzatto, comprising every form of religious lyric. They are dispersed throughout the rituals of every land, Germany and Italy, England and Egypt, Austria and America, even the Karaites having included a great number in their order of service.

“Achiasaf Edit.,” i. 56.

Reflections, hymns—chiefly in the form of introductions to the Kedusha—and penitential prayers, exist in great profusion. Single precepts were selected from the religious code for poetical glorification, such as that prescribing the donning of phylacteries ("Achiasaf Edit.," ii. 115). Laws from the Mishna were also versified, such as those in the first chapter (Perek) of *Pesachim* dealing with the removal of leaven before Passover. In these metrical renderings Biblical phrases are frequently and skilfully interwoven, making the poetical fabric appear like a mosaic; while expressions from Targum and Talmud are introduced in an unfinished elegy in Aramaic (ii. 4), bewailing the desolate plight of Jerusalem. In all these religious poems we are struck by the depth and sincerity of the emotion, which does not gush forth in maudlin sentimentality, and likewise by the grace and moderation of the language. As an example of his songs of reflection may be given the following:—

"THE RACE FOR WEALTH¹

"Wherefore, my heart, pursuest thou
Vain substance—wealth, and followest
The crooked customs of the hour?
For he who lengtheneth the hem
Upon his coat and broiders it
Is tripped thereby and humbled low.
The evil of the time's desires
Is plain revealed: yet wouldst thou seek
Among the great a tottering place?
Refrain, my heart, and do not seek."

Powerfully as his religious poems express his love for his people and his devotion to God, there beats a more strenuous passion in the songs in which he gives utterance to his yearning for Jerusalem. This was no mere artistic emotion, chosen to display the mingling of strength and beauty which Jehuda Halevi could so well attain. It was a genuine feeling which gained complete mastery over his

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," ii. 150.

heart, and which made all other things appear insipid and insignificant. To behold Zion, however waste and desolate, before he died; to sing the praises of God in the land He had given to His chosen people; to see the fading flowers of his muse bloom again in Jordan's stream: this was the one persistent wish which dominated all his thoughts, and to the realisation of which all his endeavours were directed. Nor was it as a refuge whither he might flee from the gathering storm of fanaticism and persecution that Zion held such attraction for him. It was the site of the ancient glories of his people, where God had revealed Himself to them, where kings had ruled and prophets had admonished, and psalmists had uttered their divinely inspired songs. This was reason strong enough to lure him to that Holy Land. Its beauty might have departed, but it would again return. Jerusalem might lie in desolation, but it would again shine forth in splendour. His heart was in the East, but his body was in the remotest West. For the present he could only give full and passionate expression to the feelings of his heart, with the beauteous image of the once glorious city before him; and this he did in a succession of Songs of Zion, whose sublimity of idea and chasteness of language blend in pleasing harmony with the pathos that is the inspiration of both. In the following poem he speaks comfort unto Jerusalem, and beseeches God to end the exile of His people.

"THE CONSOLATION OF JERUSALEM ¹

"Jerusalem, O sigh, and Zibn, stream with tears,
For mindful of thy woes thy children weep amain.
If I forget thee, praised city, let my right
Hand aye forget its skill—my tongue to palate cleave.

"Unhappy me, my sins have driven far from home,
And to my woe my Father 'gainst me ill designs.
Yea, brother ² too, and handmaid's ³ son have me bereft
My birthright. Wherefore, O my soul, beseech the Lord.

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," i. 15.

² Esau = Christians.

³ Hagar's son = Ishmael: hence Moslems.

"Deny thy cheeks not to the pluckers, nor thy face
 From spittle hide, perchance thy heavy grief will melt
 The foemen's hearts. Consort with jackals, screeching birds,
 Enwrap thy soul in gloom, and slowly tread the way.

"Art trustful in the Lord? For aye He'll not forsake
 The poor, but hold destruction far, in kindness great,
 Until salvation for the Jew from Zion rise,
 And thou with cords of love from exile wilt be drawn.

"How long, O Lord, will sin remembered feed thy wrath?
 Avenge thy city, nor again in bondage sell
 Thy people's remnant. Comfort speak, nor let the foe
 Return. Thus shall the morn rejoice, though night lament."

Jehuda Halevi's constant meditation on the history of Israel found expression not only in song. The poet was a philosopher too, and in the life of his people, as it unfolded itself in his vision from the dim beginnings of time, he perceived the clearest and most convincing proof of the validity of Judaism. Although well versed in the philosophy of his age, he scorned its assistance in defence of religion. Facts, the experience and observation of men, the indisputable incidents of history—these were a safer basis upon which to argue than the subtle hypotheses of metaphysicians. Such is the principle which Jehuda Halevi observes in his great Arabic prose work, the "Kuzari," written about 1140. The full title of the work is "Book of Proof and Argument for the Defence of Abused Religion." In form it is a dialogue between the king of the Kozars and a Jewish sage (commonly called "the master"), which extends over five books. The Kozars were a people who lived north of the Black Sea, and who, together with their king Bulan, became converted to Judaism in 740. Their kingdom lasted for above two centuries and a half, and many of them wandered to Spain and settled in Toledo. It was perhaps the presence of these descendants of the Turcoman tribe in his native city that suggested to Jehuda Halevi the adoption of the converted king as a character in his dialogue. His know-

ledge of the conversion may have been derived from the letter of Chasdai ben Isaac, of Cordova (960), to Joseph, the then king of the Kozars, and the latter's reply. A view once prevailed that the "Kuzari" was only an elaboration of the account by Isaac Sangari of the disputation in which he engaged with a Christian and a Mahomedan, and in consequence of which Bulan resolved to embrace Judaism. But this theory, which needed little refutation, was finally disposed of by a scholar named Slutski in a Hebrew introduction to the work.

The historical method of the "Kuzari" may be open to the objection that Jehuda Halevi accepts as history what later scholars have shown to be myths or folk-lore. But the superiority of his method over the *à priori* reasoning of philosophy remains undisputed. He made no concessions whatever to Aristotle, and though his work is not so important as the "Guide of the Perplexed" of Maimonides, or the "Beliefs and Opinions" of Gaon Saadyah, for the history of Jewish philosophical thought, it is still a profound and interesting presentation of the essence of Judaism. Jehuda Halevi regarded the land of Palestine as perpetually permeated with a spirit of holiness which existed in no other spot on earth. This holiness was imparted to it by the residence of the Divinity Himself in Jerusalem, and by virtue of it psalmists and prophets had been inspired with their lofty utterances. Originally this divine quality had been communicated by God directly to Adam, and from him it had descended to the people of Israel, to be enjoyed only by those whose sublimity of soul and purity of conduct entitled them to such a heavenly gift. Its possession by man had long ceased, but it was diffused eternally over the Holy Land, and whosoever betook himself thither, and was of a righteous and aspiring character, would be capable of attaining close communion with his Maker. Only by such communion would one's actions prove entirely acceptable to God. Devoutness of faith and goodness of deed would be an adequate worship

of the Almighty, if living in His chosen land were impossible. But if such residence could at all be realised, it became a necessary complement of faith and practice, and it was the bounden duty of every man to achieve it.

Jehuda Halevi was not content to come to this conclusion and meditate over it; he determined to carry it out. The harmony between his inner and his outer life, between belief and observance, thought and action, was the dominant note of his existence, and in response to its call he now resolved to shake off the dust of Spain and live out the remainder of his days on the sacred soil of Palestine. He had hoped that the predicted time of the Redemption was at hand, regarding the Arabians as the fourth great power on whose fall the Empire of God would be established on earth. In the year 1130 he had composed a vision in which the destruction of Ishmael, the archetype of the Arabians, is revealed. But the vision was false. The Arabians showed as yet no signs of decay; nay, their power was increasing. As the years advanced Jehuda Halevi's longing for Zion only became stronger, and he gave renewed utterance to his yearnings in a number of impassioned songs. In one of these he prayed that the sea should not become dry until it had conveyed him to his desired bourne.

"O Lord, do not destroy the swelling waves,
Nor bid the depths be shrunk and dry,
Until Thy mercies I proclaim aloud
And summon sea and western wind
To bring thy loving burden nigh, thy Land,
And loose from me the Arab yoke.
How shall my slight petition not be done?
In Thee I hope: Thou art my trust."¹

The approach of the fanatical hordes of the Almohades was a decisive motive. He announced to his friends his intention of setting out immediately for the Holy Land. The news distressed them: they endeavoured to reason

¹ "Achiasaf Edit.," i. 23.

with him and to persuade him to remain, but their efforts were in vain. To a philosophical friend who was more urgent than the rest, Jehuda Halevi addressed a poem in which he argued, that if it was wrong to go to Palestine, it must also be sinful to pray for its peace, and all their ancestors who had dwelt in the land after it had come into the possession of Gentiles must have been guilty of a grave transgression. Besides, where else was there such a land "full of gates over against which were the gates of Heaven open, like Mount Sinai and Carmel and Bethel?" Thither he was determined to go, and now at the age of about fifty-six, in the year 1140, he prepared to set forth on his journey. His wife was probably now dead, and the postponement of his pilgrimage till this late period in his life was probably due to her inability to accompany him and his reluctance to leave her. He bade a sorrowful farewell to his daughter and her son Judah, to his devoted pupils at his college in Toledo, to the house of prayer where he had been wont to meditate on Zion from afar. His passage through Spain was like a royal progress. Every community came forth to greet him, and invoked upon him at his departure the blessing of God. At Cordova the famous Rabbi Joseph ben Zaddik received him with marked distinction; while at Granada Jehuda left a poem of regret on failing to find the poet Jehuda ibn Giath at home.

The voyage on the Mediterranean was a stormy one, and the tossing of the ship and the sight of the raging billows, stretching before him like a limitless waste of waters, served but to strengthen his hope in God and to deepen his impression of the grandeur of God's works. His description of a "Stormy Sea" is a remarkable production, in which strength and clearness are blent, and the graphic and vivid nature of which is dependent on the union of striking language with spirited rhythm. He reached Alexandria about the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, and was welcomed by the family of Rabbi

Aaron ibn Alamani, with whom he stayed for nearly three months. He then sailed up the Nile to Cairo, to see the head of the Jewish congregations in Egypt, Samuel ben Chananya, who bore the title of Nagid or Prince, and lived in the palace of the Caliph. The sight of the Nile evoked in him memories of his people's past, and he gave utterance to his emotions in the following poem :—

“Thy wondrous deeds, O Lord, in every age
 Are on the tongues of men ; and fathers to their sons
 Are wont thereof in story to converse.
 In witness of those works, if need there be,
 This river I invoke, whose waters unto blood,
 Without the aid of necromancer's art
 Or blackish sorcery, Thou didst transmute ;
 But by Thy Holy name in bush revealed
 To Moses and to Aaron, favoured twain,
 And by the staff transformed to serpent's guise.
 Hear now, O Lord, Thy faithful servant's prayer,
 And speed his gaze upon the chosen sites
 Where miracles exalting Thee were wrought.”¹

Jehuda was received by the Prince Samuel with the most respectful courtesy and liberal hospitality ; but he refused Samuel's offer of monetary assistance, declaring that he had enough for his wants, and had even left much behind him at home. From Cairo he went to Damietta, where he was joyfully received by the poet, Chalfon Halevi. The latter, together with his friends, tried to induce Jehuda to abandon his pilgrimage and to settle in Egypt, contending that this country had an enlightened and tolerant government, that its Jewish inhabitants lived in peace and security, and that there was no grievance to compel them to leave it. Jehuda admitted the superiority of Egypt over other countries, but insisted on its inferiority to the Holy Land. There alone did the Spirit of God move over the face of the earth, even as at the dawn of Creation it moved over the face of the waters ; and not until he felt the quickening breath of that Spirit would

“Achiasaf Edit.,” i. 45.

his soul be at peace. During his sojourn in Egypt he composed a number of poems, in the form of letters, which he addressed to his friends, Aaron ibn Alamani, Samuel ben Chananya, Nathan ben Samuel, Chalfon Halevi, and Ezekiel ben Jacob. These are among the richest, as they are among the ripest fruits of the poet's muse. At length he left the land of the Pharaohs with the fervent blessings of his brethren, who prayed for his safe and speedy arrival in the Holy City. What course he then followed has never been traced with certainty. He is known to have passed through Yemen and Tyre and to have visited Damascus, but beyond we catch no further glimpse of the saintly figure as he wends his joyous way, with his eyes strained towards his ancestral home. It was as though a chariot of fire had descended upon earth for a second time, and the poet, like the prophet, had gone up by a whirlwind into Heaven.

Whether he was favoured to gaze upon his "woe-begone darling," his beloved Zion, no man can say; though the tragedy of his life would indeed be complete if he breathed out his last with a sigh of regret that his longing was yet unfulfilled, and his dying spasm was a harrowing sob. Perhaps, like Moses of old, he saw the Land from afar, from some towering Pisgah height, where his glowing imagination transformed the desolate prospect into a scene of entrancing beauty and ineffable bliss, and then, in a vision of heavenly glory far transcending all his earthly visions, peacefully passed away. But the gap in history has been filled by legend. Poetic fancy, which had zealously watched over him in life like some guardian angel, did not forsake him in death. The story arose that he did indeed reach the Holy City, and that as his eyes rested on the mournful ruins and his pent-up heart gushed forth in a song of delirious passion, an Arab horseman galloped up and slew him with a lance. But in whatever manner he met his death, whether by the cruel hand of man, or the more merciful decree of Heaven, "no man

knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." No splendid monument marks the spot where this godlike seer sank to rest; no troop of devotees throng to do homage to his noble memory. No tablet of honour adorns the place of his birth in the land of Spain. But he has wrought for himself a monument more enduring than marble in the countless works of his fertile genius. He has written his own memorial tablet in the hearts of all who have communed with his spirit. No statue or portrait has he left behind, nothing to help us picture his meek and gentle lineaments and the glow of hope that shone from the depths of his pensive eyes, save the faithful impress of his soul on its cherished offspring. Here may be seen resplendent the sublime ideal towards which he aspired with unique devotion, in an age when humanity revelled in barbarity, and fanaticism and persecution raged unchecked. Pæans to the glory of God were his poems, elegies written as with his own heart's blood on the faded grandeur of his beloved Zion. No panegyric on base-born gods or glorification of the strife of earthly kings, the darling theme of lauded poets, ever defiled the well-spring of his inspiration. But his muse was dedicated unto the King of Kings; the sorrow of his people was his doleful song; the throbs of his heart were the measures of his verse. And the grand ideal that animated his soul, matchless in beauty as immortal in strength, lives still unchanged in the soul of his people, transmuting the centuries of sore affliction into brilliant hours of golden splendour whereby they will count the length of their exile on their jubilant march through the gates of Zion.

"Like the heart among the limbs," said Jehuda Halevi, "so is Israel among the nations." Like the heart among the limbs, so is Jehuda Halevi in Israel. "Israel," said Jehuda Halevi, "will endure for ever." Jehuda Halevi in Israel will endure for ever.

THE JEWISH SCHOOL-CHILD

By A. EICHHOLZ, M.D.

A NUMBER of young children, perhaps forty or fifty or sixty, have come to school, many for the first time, on a certain day in the early fall of the year. They vary in age from three to four years—children of two are not admitted. These babies of three have come to receive their life's moulding at the hands of that most capable body of officers of the state—the school teachers.

These children of tender age are the nucleus of the nation's future. What they will be is largely predetermined in the school-room, and the good in their lives is mainly forecast here.

How should they and their tiny efforts to step the first rungs of life's ladder fail to arouse deep emotions and deep anticipations in those of us—in fact, all of us whose duty it is to know something of them, and especially if they are of our own stock—of Jewish blood. For the Jewish child is peculiarly our responsibility. If he turns out well, he himself will reap the reward. If unhappily otherwise, his career will smite not only himself but his brethren in faith with the punishment of evil.

Whatever the Jewish problem may mean or signify, the solution of that problem begins and proceeds very far in the school.

The Jewish child in the mass is not different from other children in most respects. Yet the circumstances of life are so unlike those of other children that they tell significantly on his school life, to an extent which to my mind seems worth while recording.

To one accustomed to dealing with classes of Eng-

lish boys, a Jewish class-room is noteworthy in many ways. The first impression is the presence of a difference of nationality. This is apart from any speech variation; and the Jewish child may not look foreign, but in the aggregate he presents certain characteristics which mark him off from the native born. My own personal memory record is that of a certain soft sallow complexion, darkness of hair, dark round eyes, a round face, and a broad low head; while the English boy leaves the impression of a clear hard complexion, brownish hair, light-brown eyes, a sharper cut face, a high long head, and a rougher skin.

Of course, neither description covers every case, nor is it even an average; it is nothing more than an accentuation of differences; for there are Jewish boys who shade off into English types, and English boys, of the Celtic type, who might easily be confounded with Jews.

In fact, as I have pointed out elsewhere (in an attempt to explain our racial adaptability), the Jews tend to approximate to the nation among whom they live, so that English Jews look more or less English after a few generations of domicile, and German, Dutch, Polish, Spanish, and Italian Jews likewise follow the physical traits of their compatriots. So it comes about that, on closer inspection of a Jewish school of mixed nationality, it is often possible, after a certain amount of practice, to discern the various nationalities among the children.

The next point to note about the children is the manner in which they behave themselves. I have no reason to believe that Jewish children are by nature better behaved than other children, and I do not believe they are worse. I think all children take the measure of those who are put over them with extreme rapidity, and a weak teacher is always sure of an unruly class. Jewish children find out the weaknesses of a teacher at least as quickly as other children, and are quite as merciless. Desultory punishment, that is to say,

punishment given indiscriminately, here a boy, there a boy, a cuff here, a box there, is not much use.

The Jewish boy is undoubtedly more amenable to firm discipline than the average English boy. When a teacher has once obtained quiet control over a class of Jewish boys, he seldom has further trouble with them. A teacher transferred to a Jewish boys' school told me some time ago that the Jewish boys had less spirit of mischief in them than the boys he had been accustomed to. He ascribed it offhand to the inherited effect of persecution. Fortunately, it was easy to prove this view wrong, for however and whatever the Jew has suffered from persecution, Providence has endowed him with a power of recovery—a sort of psychic resiliency, or elasticity of soul, which enables him to recover himself immediately in a free environment.

The sense of discipline is probably innate in the Jew, and is part of his love of law and order which finds expression in the whole of his private and public worship. With growth of years comes the development of a stiff-necked tendency, which tends to develop in him the desire to become a law unto himself. The social advantages of this characteristic are at least as many as the disadvantages, for it leads him to choose a life which shall be above all practical, useful, and independent.

It is not often that the modern Jew remains a visionary, and when he does, which is rare, he is a human gem—we get then a Zangwill or a Schechter.

When we come to inquire how the Jewish child comes to school, we light upon a true marvel in effective human effort. I ought first to tell you how the budding Englishman comes to school on the whole. The law will help you to get about 80 per cent. of these youths to school, provided they are well and strong enough to come, and how the law does this I need not now tell you. By dint of great effort in London as a whole you can get 82 per cent. to 83 per cent. to favour school with

their presence, and for this the law, the police, the public machinery, and the teachers, and the parent all have to work. That is to say, that in London 17 out of every 100 children are always away from school.

The Jew does better than this. No school is satisfied with an attendance of less than 90 per cent. Many habitually get 95 per cent., and in Leeds there is one school which for two years never had less than 99 per cent.—an almost incredible result.

There are many explanations for this. Firstly, there is the child's love for the teacher. An observant inquirer will always discover a difference in teachers in this respect. One who can gain a ready sympathy has no difficulty, while another may find the utmost trouble. But the most potent influence is that of the parents, who value education as they value nothing else, and this is a true Jewish quality, this never-quenching thirst for knowing.

Mr. Wyatt, Clerk of the Manchester School Board, in evidence before a Department Committee some time ago, said that the street evils attending child labour would cease entirely in his city if Christian parents showed the same concern for education that the Jewish mothers did. The Jewish parent, as a rule, keeps his children, during school hours and out of school hours, away from degrading employments, which sap both his energy and his desire for work in other than the lowest walks of life. He is thus preserved for the proper business of child life, learning and training in discipline.

It is only mere poverty which prevents the Jewish parent following up the salutary principle when his child leaves school. Having kept him at school conscientiously for his full term of years, the ideal should be that the parent should exercise still further restraint of his child's earning powers by allowing him to take up an employment in which he could best excel eventually. But the exigencies of the home make the scanty wage a dire necessity. It is not parental greed merely which prompts him to turn his

child into the easiest avenue of labour. It is the welcome relief which the few shillings bring to the pinched mother and the hungry babes at home. And for this reason it is that a clever Jewish child does not always find his true level on leaving school.

This is equally true, if not more so, of children in the general community. Girls become practically perfect needlewomen, and spend the rest of their working days buttonholing or boxmaking; boys learn the neatest of workmanship in manual training-school to waste their dexterity in running errands or loading vans.

This leakage is, as I have said, probably less with Jews than with the average home, where poverty is perhaps more telling and even more grievous than with our own. However, habits of regularity in attendance are bound to tell in whatever field of labour, and zeal for work at school will make a zealous earner, even though the field of labour be not of the best.

Coming to another point, let me observe that when as many as ninety-five out of every hundred children come regularly to school, it means that the general health of the child must be excellent. I mention this in connection with the wanton statements which have been flung at our people in recent years on this score. The bulk of the children of whom I now speak are foreign, either by birth or by immediate ancestry. It looks therefore as if the descendants of the so-called physical wrecks must have made an uncommonly rapid recovery from the effect of their inheritance if they can stand our inclement climate so well as to come easily first in the competition for school attendance. For this is what the Leylands Jewish school at Leeds does year by year, beating every school in Great Britain in the average of school attendance. It is delightful to see children at this school bustling their tardier schoolmates out of their homes into the school—policing the district, in fact, in the great cause of education.

The *mental powers* of the Jewish boy or girl have been the subject of debate, I suppose, as long as there have been Jewish boys and girls; and the discussion will continue fresh and full of interest as long as there are boys and girls given to Jewish parents.

I have no hesitation in saying that I am on the side of the optimists in this matter, and pronounce myself a firm believer in the superiority of the Jewish mind. There are others I know, who have crossed swords on this point, and who proclaim that Jews are dull or clever like other children. I have talked this matter over very carefully with many teachers of Jewish children, and, while none of them have ever declared them below the average, quite the majority consider it a pleasure and almost a professional privilege to be able to teach them.

The superiority of these children is, no doubt, in many cases largely attributable to their incessant regularity; for when a child comes to school day by day, if he does not learn there must be something wrong with the teacher, provided always that the child is not wanting in some mental power or other. "Oh, if I could only have an East-end school," teachers have often said to me, "I could show you what work is." "What am I to do," they say, "with a child who makes six attendances out of ten, week after week?" But attendance is not all. I have myself heard one of our most capable head-teachers say, "There is nothing that a Jewish boy cannot do under capable handling"; and this is the impression which I have carried away from my intercourse with the ideal Jewish boy.

And what wonders are done! Children a few months in this country learn under this capable handling (which is worth all the praise we can bestow) to read with a fluency which quite takes one's breath away. I have seen youngsters of eight read their standard readers, with perfect fluency—aliens, too, not understanding a

word of what they read; and this no disgrace to anybody, but all credit to the patient teacher who had piloted them through the greatest of all pedagogical shoals. They could read, and they would very soon understand, too; and it is these very children whom we find at the top of the scholastic tree, as we were able to note recently when an alien boy came out first in that most coveted of examinations, the intermediate scholarship examination of the London County Council. I have seen children in England a short ten months, reaching five rungs up our educational ladder—to the fifth standard—reciting our most classic English with a grace and fervour which one would have to seek far among the native-born. It is not more than a few months ago since a tiny man of eight came out to me from his class, and we proceeded to add and multiply together. We were evenly matched for a long time, the plucky little Russian boy holding on tenaciously till seven thousand two hundred, when he threw up the sponge with no little glory. These are isolated cases, but they are typical of many more, and they serve to clear up one point of superiority—the avidity, that deeper thirst for knowledge.

The Jewish thirst for knowledge is very practical. The knowledge he requires is of the sort which will serve him in good stead later on—which will bring him to an end of his material troubles, and enable him to lend a helping hand to his fellows in poverty. At his best he combines this with a reverence for all that is just, kind, and right, so that his scheme of life is of practical good and practical gain.

The Jewish child as we know him exists for the most part in neighbourhoods of narrow circumstance and poverty. His upbringing is too often accompanied by all the agony which follows the struggle for bare existence. With the Jew, however, poverty is an actual struggle. He does not acquiesce in his present mean surrounding, but fights to clear a path for himself to better things. For poverty is always of two kinds, that

is to say, moves in one of two directions. It either ascends or descends, and it is only when it descends that it degrades. There is one factor which more than any other contributes to poverty, and from it the Jew is fortunately free. This factor is drink. Where drink once gains a footing ascent is arrested, and degradation sets in. You may go into an average poor neighbourhood, and inquire which of the parents are struggling to throw off their poverty. It is always the same answer,—the victory is to those who do not give way.

It is to this power of control as much as to anything else that the Jew is able to lift himself into one plane after another. And it is this as much as anything else that makes it possible to abolish class distinctions among the Jews, for there are no such things as class distinctions among us, nor can there be when the rise from the base to the summit of the social scale is nothing but a matter of a few years of well-spent hard-headed energy. And it is this spirit which finds its way into the schools, and makes for the success of the Jewish pupil.

The combating force in the parent is reproduced in the child, and tends more than all to the success of the Jewish child. For teachers, though not at all united in their opinion as to the exceptional ability of the Jewish child, yet they all agree willingly to the grit with which young Israel tackles any new piece of work.

To the sympathy and devotion of the teacher and the dutiful watchfulness of the parent must be added a *third factor*, which makes itself felt in our commercial constructive ladder, and this is *voluntary personal assistance* from the outside, which is at the disposal certainly in London of any Jewish teacher who cares to ask for it on behalf of a child. There is no doubt that this kind of effort, finding its way into the interior of the homes, goes far to awaken the latent sense of duty in the parents, causing them to exert that personal force which tells to such advantage within the schools.

It is difficult to estimate the value of the separate elements of effort which are directed into the channel of public education in the case of the Jewish community, and it would be invidious to say how much is due to the teacher, how much to the parent, how much to the school manager, and how much to the child. It is a fact that the harmonious co-ordination of all these forces makes for success. For any one of them in absence or abeyance makes success more of a difficulty. A weak teacher, a negligent parent, a district unworked by managers, a truant child, all make for bad results. Reverse these conditions, and all is in train for going well, and especially if your chain is complete. It often happens that one link of the chain is not there—the manager who can carry the suggestion of the teacher into the heart of the home. Thus it comes about that so much excellent effort goes to waste. The precepts of the schoolroom fail of their purpose when they fall upon an apathetic parent, unawakened to any idea of duty to his offspring. To accomplish the duty in London alone, armies of voluntary helpers are needed; and, if the general community wishes for a lesson as to how to do this, it need only come to the Jewish community which has, so to speak, “blockhoused” its territory into complete units of organisation among its workers, teachers and managers, who contribute to convert their charge of children into a valuable national asset.

This care of children is not confined to the years of school age, but is as far as possible continued into the years immediately succeeding the limit of school attendance, and busies itself with the further education of the young man or young woman in their employment and their recreation. All this is of enormous importance if the child is to benefit by the lessons of the schoolroom, and to carry the work of the teacher into the conduct and practice of every-day life. Judicious recreation gives the death-blow to evil companionship, and further education may open the way to higher avenues of employment than

may have been possible on immediately leaving school. Thus the wage-power of a boy or girl of fourteen may be small, and the work may lead nowhere in point of prospect, yet it must be taken up to swell the small family earnings which cannot stand the strain of one of its contributors undergoing a lengthy apprenticeship. Though the apprenticeship might lead to greater eventual results, the immediate return of a few shillings a week tempt the boy or girl leaving school to a lower career than their mental capacity would permit. Higher education leads to a higher career, and it is this, no doubt, which accounts for the fact that while so few children take up skilled employments on leaving school, a great many of them enter careers of skill at seventeen or eighteen years of age.

I think most teachers will agree with me in considering it an educational triumph when one of our boys takes up a handicraft for his livelihood; for craftsmanship is the one tangible evidence of productiveness among many employments, most of which add nothing to the wealth of the general community. It is, for instance, matter of keen regret to me to see so many of the boys in London schools drifting off to be office-boys and errand-boys. It is a sorrowful reflection to think that they have all been trained to use their hands better than any other boys in the world, and that, out of every hundred, fifty are fit to take up a technical training. Of these fifty about twenty come up to the sticking point and enter for some skilful trade, the rest largely lose their acquired dexterity, and are in many cases lost in the natural race for production.

I do not know how the proportion stands with Jewish boys. I know that they get the same training in manual work—wood-work, metal-work and drawing—but I have no reason to think that a greater proportion of their number enter skilled trades than we find in the general population. I should not be surprised to find even fewer among Jewish lads. And here the national way of looking at craftsmanship may have something to account for. Countenancing

class distinctions which we have to some extent copied into our social system, we have assigned a special pigeon-hole to the artisan, and the Jew will never be content to be pigeon-holed into any section which excludes him from rising. He requires perfect freedom to move among all strata of society in accordance with his possibilities, his talents, and his means. He exemplifies a dictum which came from the lips of an acquaintance who once expressed a view that no man ought to accept any post which debars him from becoming Prime Minister of England. It is some such feeling as this which makes the Jew look askance at employments which mean rolling up the sleeves or working in white ducks. If he saw far enough, he might see kingdoms to be conquered in the field of labour, and might know that there are princes of toil as well as of finance.

His inborn anxiety not to fetter his career may explain some of the criticisms offered by experts on the way Jewish boys take to manual instruction. Though we may not agree with them, as I, for one, do not, we must inquire into them, and meet them if necessary. The opinions do not always assume the same form. Sometimes we are told that the work is not up to the best, and that Jewish boys do not seem to tumble to hand-work as well as to brain-work. This is the usual form of complaint. Another account tells us that the Jewish lad can dig into the subject up to a certain depth, when he seems to come to hard rock and can get no further. According to a third view our boys go mightily to work with their tools at the beginning, but lack the patience to carry the operation to a final finish. They are said to give up half-way in any exercise involving complications, and hurry to an end a piece of poorly-finished work.

On the other hand, I have seen our boys do work in no way inferior to that of the general run, and have come to the conclusion that they want, perhaps, better teaching and more effective discipline than ordinary boys, who,

coming from artisan homes, seem to fly to manual work as a certain bird flies to water. The Jewish boy, with his centuries of inheritance which have debarred him from using his hands, requires time to inure his hand and brain to the new form of work. With a little additional trouble I am convinced that his output will compete at least favourably with that of the boy who has home tradition and inheritance all on his side.

We never hear anything of the incompetence of girls in this respect. No girls or women turn out better workmanship than Jewish women, at least, so I am told, whether it be hats, frocks, or ordinary needle-work. As in so many other crises our women have to save our name. With their example the men and boys will no doubt fall into line in this one respect, where criticism still touches their intellectual reputation. For we cannot neglect this side of the Jewish brain. The proper use of the hands leads to originality, and without originality we cannot fill our proper place in intellectual civilisation.

"There is no knowledge, properly speaking, that is not begotten of work," and our Jewish boy will fortunately find no difficulty in accommodating himself to the new industrial ideal in this land of newly-found freedom, if he steadily learns the lesson of discipline and patience, which will help him to become an effective producing unit in the state.

Discipline and patience, which come so easily to him, represent self-restraint; effort will represent self-assertion; and the combination of self-assertion and self-restraint will form his code of working virtues—a practical code, and, at the same time, one which will save him from the oft-repeated charge of materialism; for the struggle is only sordid and only half-fought when self-restraint is forgotten.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have touched scantily on many aspects of Jewish education, and the many factors which go to make it up—the racial features, the rare sense of discipline, the parental devotion, the devotion of the

teacher, and the co-operation of the voluntary worker or manager. I have touched these points lightly, as also the questions of school attendance, mental aptitude, and manual aptitude, and the important question of continued education, and I now draw my remarks to a close.

My remarks have in the main been drawn from observations made in our less affluent public elementary schools. I do not wish it to be understood that my conclusions differ in the case of our more fortunate children. A few pounds in school fees does not alter the ways of the flesh, and we all know that bright brains are to be found in our high schools as in our elementary schools.

What we have to deplore here is a similar falling off in ideal. A rich boy from the public school shows excellent promise of talents which will ripen into something of solid profit to the reputation of the community. He will make a good engineer, an excellent physician, a profound philologist. So much for him when he leaves school or college. How often have we to reflect in sadness for him in later years, when, in spite of talents, training, opportunity, and occasion, he delivers up his birthright for a pottage of material yet minor glories?

With this example from the rich, how can we look for sacrifice from the state-taught child? When our rich man can say, "I have forsaken wealth to serve the world with hands and brain," when he can bring this message to the poor, then and then alone shall we have the right to enjoin sacrifice all round, but not until then.

The intellectual struggle of Israel is against materialism. Our greatest needs are many, but none presses more than the need for renunciation from above downwards, that we may spare from our energies the power to build a free channel for our chained-up intellect.

Along the path of renunciation lies the liberation which Israel can accomplish for himself. Other paths are many and more tempting, but along them lie absorption and annihilation.

JEWISH CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

*A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NORTH LONDON JEWISH
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By HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D.

ISAAC ISRAELI (the younger), of Toledo, a prominent astronomer who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, gives the following definition of the Universe:

"Know that the name Universe is employed, in astronomy, for heaven and earth and all their hosts; for the uppermost sphere, and all spheres encompassed by it; for sun, moon, stars, the terrestrial globe, and all that is on them, and for the seas and all that is therein. Just as the human body is a unit composed of many members, which are all connected with one another and dependent on one another for their preservation, thus is the whole world and the fulness thereof one complete body, composed of many constituents which are connected with one another and dependent on one another for their preservation. By means of irrefutable proofs scholars were forced to agree that the form of the Universe is that of a globe, in which is enclosed a number of other globes; that it is living, and in full cognisance of its existence, revolves on two poles round a centre [from east] to west, and [that this motion is caused] by a power which has no limit, and that it completes one revolution each day."

In order to appreciate this definition properly, we must first call attention to the difference in the scientific methods employed in our times and those observed in

former epochs. Whilst it is characteristic of modern science to examine facts and phenomena, and to draw from them the laws upon which they are based, the procedure in the Middle Ages was to fix rules and axioms by means of scholastic speculation, and to adapt the phenomena of nature to them in the best way possible. As these axioms were few, and the varieties in nature are many, the general result was imperfection, and misconception of the universe. Even in subjects where investigation was supported by direct observation (as in practical astronomy), causes were not rightly understood, and the general drift of things moved in a wrong direction. This method is known as the scholastic one. What was chiefly wanting was the power of distinguishing between appearance and reality. Although, therefore, many details were correctly described, the real nature of the universe remained undiscovered.

This mode of observing nature was adhered to during the whole of the ancient and mediæval epochs, and reached its apogee in its good as well as evil sense in the hands of the Arabs, who for centuries remained the teachers of the world in matters scientific. Among their pupils were the Jews. One must not, however, assume that the latter received their first introduction into the study of nature from the Arabs. Indeed, they had attained a certain degree of proficiency in natural studies long before the Arabs had even learnt the first lessons of culture, but they did not go beyond those few notions laid down in Talmudical literature, which were merely fostered for the service of the religious law, and not developed for their own sake. Religion formed the starting-point as well as the ultimate aim of Jewish study of the universe, their principal endeavour being the fixing of the calendar in order to determine the festive seasons.

When the Jews had adopted the scholastic method of the Arabs, they indirectly came under the influence of the Aristotelian way of explaining matters, which was held to

be infallible. This system subsequently gained so firm a hold over them (as indeed over all mankind) that they even interpreted Aristotelian ideas into such Biblical passages as dealt with the phenomena of nature.

Of the many examples offered in Jewish literature let us select the following.

There lived in the eleventh century a prominent Jewish astronomer named Abraham b. Hiyyah, of Barcelona. His learning secured him a high post at the court of an enlightened Mohammedan ruler. He composed several renowned works on astronomy, the most important of which deals with the Jewish Calendar. This work commences as follows:

“Ch. 1. Concerning the shape of the earth and the extent of its habitation.

“Know that all scholars who study this subject are unanimous in their opinion that the earth is round like a ball. The water of the great ocean covers half of it, which is uninhabitable; the other half is consequently dry land and is inhabitable. The lakes which are to be found on the dry half are islands as it were, like those dry ones which are to be found in the water; consequently there is as much dry land as there is water. The proof of this is to be found in the Torah, as it is written (Gen. i. 9): Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so.

“When the waters gathered in one place, the dry land was seen in another; the quantity of one is as the quantity of the other, and they were divided according to one principle. So is also written (Gen. i. 10): And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters called he sea, &c. Every item in the creation which God divided into two parts, and gave to each of them a name, thou findest one to be of the same quantity as the other, as it is written (Gen. i. 5): And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night, &c.

“As the measure of the day is like that of the night,

so is also the measure of the water and the dry land. As in some places the day overlaps over the night, so in others the night overlaps over the day, and they are evenly balanced in this respect. Thus the dry land preponderates in some places, and the water in others, and an equilibrium is also visible here. From this it is clear that half of the earth is dry and the other water, and there is no need to bring another proof from external (*i.e.* non-Biblical) science."

This is as characteristic a piece of argumentation as can be found anywhere in the world's literature of that age. Particularly quaint are the remarks that the matter was quite clear, and no evidence taken from the laws of nature need be applied. In point of fact the verses quoted contain nothing of which he interpreted into them, since the object to be demonstrated had been settled by *a priori* speculation.

Quite on a par with this are the notions with regard to the geographical conception of the earth. Since scholastic speculation considered the globe the most perfect of all forms, the earth must needs have that form. In order to determine the parts inhabitable to man, the whole globe was divided by two imaginary circles, crossing each other at right angles into four quarters. Seven strips of the width of six degrees each were portioned off in the north-eastern quarter. These strips were called *climates*, and only these were declared to be inhabitable. All the rest was either water or unknown land, and therefore unworthy of exploration.

"The name Earth," says Isaac Israeli, "is sometimes used for all that is below the heavens, including the [spheres of the] four elements and all that arises out of them, as is said (Gen. ii. 4): In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens. In astronomy, however, the term *earth* is only applied to the innermost kernel of the spheres, which consists of earthy matter. Scholars have unquestionably shown that the earth is an

opaque globe placed in the very centre of the world, as is said (Job xxxviii. 38): When the dust groweth into hardness, and the clods cleave fast together."

The constant changes to which the surface of the earth is subjected are illustrated in the following Jewish legend, which, strange to say, has been preserved by Arab authors. Once upon a time there lived a pious Jew whom Alkhidr often used to visit. When the king heard of this, he summoned the Jew to his court and said to him: "When Alkhidr comes to thee again, bring him to me, lest I kill thee." The Jew returned to his house, and as soon as Alkhidr came again he apprised him of the king's command. When they appeared before the king, the latter asked: "Art thou Alkhidr?" "Yes, your majesty, I am he." "Tell me," the king replied, "the most wonderful experience thou hast had." Alkhidr answered: "I have seen many of the wonders of the earth. Once I came on my wanderings to a large, flourishing, and populous city. I asked one of its inhabitants when the town was built. 'The town,' he said, 'is very old; we do not know when it was built, any more than our forefathers.' After 500 years I came to the same place, but there was no trace of a city. I saw a man who gathered herbs on a field and asked him when that city had been destroyed. He said, 'It has always been here like that; we know nothing about a city, any more than our forefathers.' Five hundred years after I once more passed by that place and found a large lake. There were many fishermen about, and I asked one since when the lake had been there. 'It has always been here,' said he. After another 500 years I again came by and found a dry field, where an old woman cut grass. I asked her how long the place had been dry land. 'It has always been like that,' said she. After 500 years I again returned to the same place and saw a city larger and more beautiful than the first had been. I asked one of the inhabitants, how long has this city been standing? 'It is very old indeed,' he answered;

'we do not know when it was founded, any more than our forefathers.'" When the king heard this, he said to Alkhidr: "I will follow thee and renounce my crown." Alkhidr replied: "Follow this man and let him teach thee the right path."

Those acquainted with German literature are aware that this legend forms the subject of a very beautiful ballad by the poet Friedrich Rückert. Alkhidr means *ever green*, and is the Arabic equivalent for Phineas—Elijah in the Jewish Agāda. The law of growth and decay on earth is most poetically depicted in this legend, of which the general world possesses a different form in the legend of the Phœnix. The resemblance of the names *Phœnix* and *Phineas* is sufficiently suggestive of a close relationship between them. It is, however, beyond the present task to enter more fully into this matter.

Leaving the earth now, we will attempt an imaginary flight through space and view the universe in the way as did our ancestors. In that conception of the structure of the world they displayed, technically speaking, no originality whatsoever, but accepted without questioning the system laid down by Ptolemy, the famous Greek astronomer, who lived at Alexandria in the second century of the present era. Notwithstanding its non-Jewish origin this system has a large claim to be made known even now, as its trail is over the most important works by Jews on philosophy, poetry, and even liturgy. Without an intimate acquaintance with this system the whole development of Jewish thought almost down to our own period, as well as the origin of many rites and customs remain unintelligible.

Now although Jews were not, in the first instance, responsible for the shaping of this system, one of the most essential features of the same was provided by a Jewish philosopher who lived more than one hundred years prior to Ptolemy. This was Philo, likewise of Alexandria. Blending the teachings of the Bible with

Greek ideas, he arrived at a singular conception of the structure of the universe. Emanating from God, he taught, came into existence the Creating Word, and by further emanation from this Word arose, in their turn, the heavenly spheres, and finally, the earth and all that fills it. In this way the barren Aristotelian principle of the eternity of matter was made acceptable to those philosophers and astronomers who took their stand on revealed religion, and Jews therefore had no further scruples in embracing a theory which did not collide with the belief in the creation of the world from nought.

Let us now briefly sketch the universe as it appeared under this system. From the Divine Will a sphere emanated. A sphere is a simple body having the shape of a transparent, hollow globe which rotates round its axis. The sphere has neither weight nor temperature, is neither wet nor dry, cannot be broken nor put together, but it is possessed of life and reason, knows its creator, and is conscious of its own existence. The uppermost sphere was called the carrying one, because it was thought to carry the throne of God. Jewish philosophers, and Maimonides among them, found references to them in the Biblical terms, *Heaven*, *Firmament*, *Zebûl*, and *Arâbôth*. Their number is ten.

Encompassed by this sphere is that of the fixed stars, which is divided into twelve sections. Nearly everybody is familiar with the names of one or two constellations, at least those of the zodiac, but few people realise the great age of their names. Some of them, as is well known, are mentioned in the Book of Job, and by the Prophet Amos, and the interpretation of these names is, on the whole, identical with those they have retained down to our own time. Jewish astronomers unhesitatingly adopted the names handed down by the Greeks, and merely translated them into Hebrew. According to Arab scientists the thickness of this sphere is 430,744 miles. They calculated that the largest of these stars was ninety-

four times larger than the earth, and the smallest eighteen times. Arab influence over the study of astronomy was so great that a large number of fixed stars are even now only known by their Arab names. It is easily intelligible that the two polar stars enjoyed special distinction, particularly the northern one, to which were ascribed all kinds of healing powers both for man and beast, when looked at while certain formulas were muttered.

Below the sphere of the fixed stars are those of the planets, of which there are two groups, viz. the upper planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars. Then comes the Sun, after which follow the lower planets, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the Moon. It is not to be wondered at that the old names of these planets could not be accepted either by Jews or Mohammedans on account of their heathenish character. The Talmud has, therefore, substituted other names for them. Saturn is called *Shabbethai*, because he occupies the seventh place, and also represents *Saturn's day*. Jupiter is called *Sedek* (justice), in which term a certain astrological tendency is visible, because those born under his influence become great, wise and happy. Mars is called *Ma'adim* on account of its reddish hue. Venus is *Nōgah* on account of its brilliant light, and Mercury is called *Kōchab shemesh* or briefly *Kōchāb*, because in the sky it is always to be found quite close to the sun. The innermost centre of all these spheres is occupied by the earth, round which all the others revolve, as if to pay homage to the smallest but most important item in the world's creation.

In order to make the student understand the position of the earth in the midst of the spheres, and to give at the same time an adequate idea of the proportion of the whole system, Abraham b. Hiyya compares the earth to a mustard-seed in the centre of an ostrich egg, or a glass globe of the same size. This globe, as well as the globes encompassed, revolve round their common axis, and it was this rotation which not only pushed the earth into

its central position, but keeps it there for ever. He adds that this unchangeably central position of the earth is already alluded to in the Bible, as we read in Psalm civ. 5 : *He hath founded the earth on its basis, so that it cannot be moved for ever and ever.*¹

Now this merely speculative plan of the universe had to be brought into harmony with the daily phenomena appearing in nature's theatre, and the result was so illogical that we wonder how it could have been so universally accepted. Observation had shown that the sun completed a rotation round the earth in one year ; another observation showed that the sun, moon, and stars circumscribed a circle round the earth every day. It was therefore actually laid down that all heavenly bodies not only performed their ordinary rotations round the earth according to their distances, but at the same time completed their daily one. The difficulty of this theory was recognised, but so great was the power of scholastic axioms that its veracity dared not be doubted, but other means were devised to explain the riddle. The greatest difficulty was caused by the apparently irregular movements of the planets which were seen in places they were not expected to occupy. In order to overcome this obstacle a very ingenious way out of the dilemma was suggested, but it shows what an immense amount of mental energy can often be applied to prove fallacious maxims. It was taught that it was not the planets themselves which moved round the earth, but that imaginary points formed the real centres of planetary rotation. These auxiliary spheres were called epicycles. Although at first they seemed to remove the difficulty, after a certain period they increased it to such an extent that they led to the final breakdown of the whole aerial edifice. To the terrestrial globe were supposed to be attached the spheres of the four elements, viz. earth, water, air, and fire. It

¹ A similar theory, and with reference to the same quotation from the Bible, is expounded by Isaac Israeli.

goes without saying that they were also accepted by Jews, who even found places for them in the Biblical account of the creation of the world.

It is not to be wondered at that this way of contemplating the universe led to the conviction that not only the earth and the fulness thereof, but also the outer world, existed merely for man's sake. He could not, indeed, make the heavenly bodies directly subservient to him, but were not sun and moon created to give warmth and light to the earth? This being so, the planetary spheres had obviously no other function than to influence man's fate. To trace here the origin of astrology (if it can be traced at all) is not within the scope of these observations, but there is no doubt that it originated in star worship. So closely was the observation of the star movements connected with the inquiry into their bearing on man's fate, that the term *astrology* was originally applied to both, till some more enlightened minds employed the word *astronomy* for the research into the purely mathematical side of this science. Considering how anxiously and ruthlessly Judaism excised everything from its teachings and practice which had the remotest semblance to heathenish ways, it is astonishing that superstitious belief was allowed to gain so strong a hold in its tenets. If we endeavour to explain this strange fact, we notice first of all that it entered under the guise of the Hebrew names of the planets. The real nature of astrology was further veiled by the belief that it was not so much the bodies of the planets as their spheres which exercised their magic power. We have seen before that these spheres were taught to be emanations from the Divine Will, and possessed of living souls. They were therefore regarded to be but the intermediary agents charged to carry the expression of the "special Providences" down to individuals. As soon as a pretext was found by the help of which that theory could be deprived of its heathenish odour, there was no obstacle to practical horoscopy. Hardly any of the great Jewish teachers of

mediaeval Judaism was strong enough to resist its allurements. To mention only a few names, we find that Solomon b. Gabirol gave an enthusiastic description of planetary influence in his famous *Kether Malchuth*. Abraham b. Hiyya believed in it, Jehudah Hallevi accepted it conditionally, and the clear-minded and critical Abraham b. Ezra was a convinced adept. It was Maimonides chiefly who, although he shared the general views on the structure of the universe, set his face against astrology, and condemned it in energetic terms. His warnings remained, however, unheeded, in spite of the unrivalled authority he otherwise exercised in religious matters. Neither were the protests of later Rabbis of much avail. The belief in the influence of stars was so firmly planted that it could not be rooted out by such means, and was only abandoned when the whole system fell to pieces. Certain minor practices and phrases are to be found among all classes of Jews even to this day. The word *mazzal-tob*, which means "a lucky star may shine on this or that event," will, in all probability, be inseparable from the Jewish vocabulary, and its existence is all the more assured, as it is international and not confined to any European language. Its further employment is, however, of no harm, as it has completely changed its meaning, and no one connects with it any astrological idea.

There is another factor which acted as a powerful lever in introducing *Weltauscharungen* into Judaism, which were originally opposed to its teachings. This was mysticism. Why is it that most men are unable to free themselves from the spell of things mystic, whilst many even love it, seek it, and cannot live without it; and that even those who strive hardest to shake it off, do not wholly succeed, although they imagine that they have conquered? It is on account of the limited capacity of the average human brain. With all its keenness it has proved unable to fathom the origin of things, and where reasoning fails, imagination steps in to fill the

gap, and to supply the missing links. It is but natural that Judaism, with its great tendency to put simple belief in the place of reasoning and inquiry into the why and wherefore, offered a rich soil for the growth of fantasies. Jewish mysticism is an exotic, but when once it had taken root it thrived rapidly. To give an instance, let us turn our attention to one of the oldest mystic writings in Jewish literature. It is well known that the great veneration in which the Tōrā was held extended also to its very letters. There exists a book, ascribed to R. Akibā, the great sage of the Mishnāh, which consists of fanciful discussions on the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and a mystical theosophy based on numbers and cyphers. This book, which we may style a kind of Midrāsh (because it abounds in homiletic and moral teachings), is, of course, of much later date. Another doctrine of similar tendency but of even grosser texture was the so-called *Sheūr Kōmāh*, which, in almost literal conception of Biblical anthropomorphisms, indulged in descriptions of the divine essence which border on sacrilege. This aberration can be traced back to the influence of certain Mohammedan schools (of the Shia sect) which fostered the wildest ideas of incarnation. It is easily intelligible that systems of this kind turned the minds of the less enlightened from metaphysical speculations which Jewish teachings did not encourage. Subsequently the various mystic systems flowed together into the broad channel of the Kabbālāh. This science, as conceived at present, shows the dark side of Jewish thought; but as it is a real *Weltauschauung*, we cannot help bestowing some attention to its earlier stage at least. The origin of the Kabbālāh is indeed obscure, but it is undoubtedly one of the results of the cosmical views of the age. There were, after all, only few who really grasped metaphysics in all its abstractness, and those Jews who wrote on them entangled themselves in contradictions. This was distinctly the case of Maimonides. Lesser geniuses contented themselves with

blending some metaphysical elements with the teachings of revealed religion, but disguised the former with mysterious language and hidden comparisons. This is the way of the Kabbalah. As to its age opinions differ, but it is certainly not so old as some authors (among them the writer of the article in the third volume of the Jewish Encyclopædia) assume.

Let us now try to illustrate this characteristic of the Kabbalah by glancing at the famous work which outwardly marks the beginning of this system, viz. the *Sēfer Jeṣīrāh* (Book of Creation), the title of which might induce the reader to assume that the book deals with profoundest metaphysical problems. In order to invest it with the greatest authority, both as regards antiquity and theological importance, it was attributed to the patriarch Abraham. In reading its beginning we at once recognise ideas encountered above. It runs as follows:

"In thirty-two ways, being mysteries of wisdom, has God, the Lord of hosts, the living God and King of life, the Omnipotent, Most High, who dwelleth for ever, whose name is holy, carved out and created his world in three Sefārim" (books). The number *thirty-two* is no mere play with figures, but composed of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (which we saw before to have formed the fulcrum of a mystical system) and the ten spheres alluded to previously. A fuller explanation (if explanation it can be called) is given in the next paragraph, which runs thus:

"There are ten *Sefirōth* without substance, and twenty-two letters." It is of course easy to see that the Neo-Hebrew term *Sefirāh*, which is generally translated by *number*, is in reality nothing but the term *sphere* hebraicised. Distinctly we see here again the notion of the ten spheres which at once recalls the doctrine of Emanation, employed in this partly philosophic, but prominently theological attempt to reconstruct the universe on mystic lines.

As it develops, the Book of Jesirāh (which shows traces of Arab philosophy, and cannot therefore be very old) gives, paragraph after paragraph, the details of its teachings, but in very obscure, and, as seems to me, occasionally irrelevant language. The further criticism of this book does not concern us here, but it certainly does not represent the bright side of Jewish literature. Yet its authority was great during the Middle Ages, and even now it is to be found embodied in collections of prayers and meditations compiled for private devotion.

One of the oddest fruits of the Kabbalāh is another work, which I can only describe as a regrettable aberration of the Jewish mind. I allude to the Book Raziel. Its various parts consist of mysterious teachings, supposed to have been imparted by the angel Raziel to Adam and Noah. It is composed of metaphysical expositions, *She'ur Komāh* elements, fanciful descriptions of the world's creation and of the heavenly court, astrological references, prayers, amulets, and a large amount of nonsense. An abstract from its opening paragraphs gives a fair idea of the book:

"In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel, I commence this book, which belongs to the books of mysteries. It was given to Noah from the mouth of the angel Raziel in the year when he erected the ark. It was written on a sapphire, and he learnt from it wonderful doings and the ways to study the high dwellings of the heavens, to contemplate the stars and to observe their paths, to search the course of the moon, to know the ways of the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades, to tell the names of what is in each heaven and their influence, and to master the names of the guarding angels, to study the times proper to be born and to die, to wound and to heal, to interpret dreams and visions, to excite strife and make peace, &c. . . . The book was handed down by Noah to his posterity, but Solomon was the first to interpret it,

and although he possessed many books of the same kind, he only held this worthy to be preserved."

We are also the happy possessors of various printed editions of the book. Interspersed in the text are magic diagrams, mysterious letters, and drawings of amulets. Here are some magic prescriptions:

"Whoever wishes to be wise shall read the book from beginning to end. The house in which the book is to be found will never suffer from fire, damage, or want.

"For a bad dream: Fast three days from Monday to Wednesday, but break not the fast till Thursday morning. Wash thy hands quite clean, and draw thy left through lily water. Then write on it the formula prescribed, lie down on thy right side, and await a wonderful result."

For those who wish to try it, there is an amulet to keep the affection of a maiden away from everything except oneself. Others may learn how to fill a house with smoke and fire that burns but does not consume. It goes without saying that there are also charms against the evil eye, and for the protection of children from the moment of their birth.

We must forbear to enter more fully into this sombre, though not unpopular subject. We see how the Kabbālāh fell into the snares of astrological errors and magic practices, which have by no means died out, but even now interfere with many Jewish rituals and ceremonies.

It is quite a relief to return from the catacombs of misdirected speculation to the light of science. The genius of Copernicus shattered the crystal spheres, and assigned to the earth its proper, but much more modest place among the planets. What still remained unexplained was accomplished by Keppler and Newton, who replaced the circular rotation of the heavenly bodies by the elliptic one, and gave the death-blow to the Aristotelian philosophy. History has preserved the struggle of these master minds (the pride of the human race), against the

execrations of an irate clergy, who arrogated the right of vindicating the teachings of the Bible against heretic doctrines. The Bible is not in need of such defence, since truth is never hostile to truth. It is pleasing to see that Jews were among the first to accept the Copernican system as the true one. An energetic expression of the new order of things I found in an anonymous Hebrew poem, written under the immediate influence of that discovery. Let me quote a few of its verses:¹

"For those who augur by means of the horoscope, I close and conceal the doors of their false prophecy.

"I deny the existence of demons and Lilith, as well as all kinds of witchcraft and amulets.

"I tear down and condemn all notions that deviate from regulation and law.

"I put down the foot of reason, and trample on the head of all corrupt notions of the people.

"And those whose aim is to root out the principles of faith, I humble, and put their boast to shame.

"In fine, I have in my scrip a measure and a gauge to fathom the truth."

¹ For the whole poem see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xii. pp. 138, 299.

JEWISH SURNAMES

*A PAPER READ BEFORE THE CITY JEWISH SOCIAL
AND LITERARY SOCIETY, APRIL 5, 1903*

By ALBERT M. HYAMSON

It is the universal practice at the present day in all civilised lands for their inhabitants to bear, in addition to their own personal or distinctive names, others common to the families to which they belong. Almost without exception, especially among the races other than Jewish, these latter names or surnames have been inherited through many generations, and in the course of their careers have often undergone changes and corruptions, and departed far from their original form and intention. Every surname that exists is brimful of interest if its mystery could only be solved. It sometimes records the origin of its first bearer, at others the occupation by which the founder of the family that now owns it, existed. At times it describes his personal appearance or records to far distant descendants the nickname by which he was known to his associates. In its modern form, however, its original meaning is not always clear. For instance, such names as Death or Devil, by no means uncommon, in reality concern neither the grave nor purgatory. Both are very mild corruptions of merely local surnames, and denote that their first bearers came respectively from Ath in Normandy and from some French town unnamed (de ville). Heiligheist, another name that reminds one instinctively of the Trinity, is a corruption of Haldegast. The peculiarly inappropriate name of Feaver, borne by a chemist at St. Leonards, can also be explained away.

Feaver is the French Févre, and denotes that a remote ancestor of the chemist in question was a smith, who, to distinguish him from others in his neighbourhood who bore the same personal name, was called Robert le Févre (Robert the smith).

The adoption of hereditary surnames by Jews took place in different localities on various occasions. The first to have done so seem to have been the Sephardim, who possessed their beautifully sounding surnames already centuries ago, and many of whom, in their exile and wanderings, retained them wherever they went. These surnames were not, however, in every case preserved pure and undefiled. In the Mohammedan countries the tendency was to bring them nearer to the Arabic standard. In Italy and other of the continental states, they were occasionally changed for new ones bearing no resemblance whatsoever to the old. Such was the case with the Disraelis and the Montefiores. In England the first Jews after the Resettlement were Sephardim, who came accompanied by their sonorous Spanish names, and since that date every newcomer, whatever his origin, has immediately on his arrival possessed himself of a suitable civil appellation. The Jews of this country have, however, in some instances been guilty of vandalism, and within my own knowledge, I regret to state, such historical names as Martinez, Rodriguez, and Rey, have been shortened and translated into Martin, Rogers, and King.

In the Teutonic countries the adoption of hereditary surnames by Jews is comparatively recent. It was not until 1845 that the governments of the last of the German states took measures to compel their adoption. The decree of Napoleon, and the measures subsequent to it, were considered by those towards whom they were directed, as savouring of cruel persecution. Protests were made, but passed unheeded. Recourse was had to subterfuges, but they proved of no avail. Attempts were made to

evade the decrees, but they were unsuccessful. The final day fixed for the adoption of surnames arrived, and none were allowed to escape the ordeal. Patronymic surnames, those ending in -sohn, &c., were accepted in many cases. Others took merely fancy names derived from trees, plants, jewels, or natural features. In some cases chance was called to the assistance of the undecided. The Bible was opened and the first name hit upon adopted as the future patronymic of the family. In one instance at least the congregation assembled in the synagogue, the rabbi opened the prayer-book, and the first word on the page was taken by the first family, the second by the second family, and so on.

One holy man, immersed in his studies, heeded not the injunctions of the authorities, and when at length asked for the name that he had chosen, replied in the language with which he was most conversant, אֲנִי לֹא יָדָע.—We do not know. Without hesitation the official recorded his new name as Neuda, and by that appellation his descendants are still known. Another in similar circumstances, when asked for his name, replied "Yankele," and in reply to remonstrances repeated, "Poshet Yankele" ("Simply Yankele"). His name was entered as Poshet.

It had been the custom for centuries anterior to the ordinances promulgated by Napoleon for a Jew to have a double name, Shem Hakkódesh for religious purposes, and a kinnui by which he was known to the world. The kinnuyim were chosen for several reasons; on account of similarity in sound, for instance George (Gershon), Robert (Reuben); by translation or similarity of meaning, Freude (Simchah); because the new name was supposed to have some reference to the original bearer of the old Fischel, Fisher (Moses); or by the formation of diminutives, Mirush (Miriam), Koplin, Kaplan, Kaplin (Jacob). These kinnuyim were the foundations, in many instances, of the newly-adopted surnames.

Across the Atlantic, Jewish names have undergone

still more wonderful metamorphoses than in the Old World. Such lucre-smacking descriptions as Milldollar, Barndollar, Cashdollar, are to be found in the States, and these have been proved to be Americanisations of Mühlthaler, Bernthaler, and Käsenthaler, denoting families originating in Mühlthal, Bernthal, and Käsenthal, towns in South Germany. From America also such apparently un-Jewish appellations as exemplified in the two following illustrations have come. It is related that a Polish-Jewish immigrant, recently arrived in New York, in the course of his endeavours to make a fortune had to give his name to a gentleman with whom he was contracting business. His appellation, Yankele, not being familiar to his interlocutor, was transcribed John Kelly, and Yankele of Lodz was henceforth known as Mr. John Kelly of New York. Under the same circumstances it is stated that Yitzchok became Hitchcock, and the descendants of this particular Yitzchok possibly wonder whence their Anglo-Saxon patronymic was derived. It is interesting to note that etymologically Yitzchok and Hitchcock are the same, the latter meaning little Isaac. Of course these two instances may be apocryphal; they probably are, but they illustrate the origin of many Jewish surnames that would otherwise be inexplicable.

In the earliest years of the world's history, when the population was far more sparse and scattered than it is now, when the system of human government was that of tribes, of clans, of families, there was far less necessity for distinction between personalities. In those days one name was quite sufficient for an individual in most instances, and it seldom occurred that any further designation was necessary. We read of Adam, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of many others who bore but a single name. When, however, numbers had increased to a more considerable extent and the sole description of Abraham or Isaac became insufficient, individuals were distinguished by explanatory additions to their names. We then come

across Joshua the son of Nun, David the son of Jesse, Elijah the Tishbite, Judas Maccabæus, Judas Iscariot, and others. These descriptions were, however, only personal to those to whom they were in the first instance applied, and were in no sense hereditary. The nomenclature of the people remained in that condition for centuries, and the world was some hundreds of years older before surnames in the modern sense became common in Western Jewry. During the whole of this period each particular Isaac or Solomon had an explanatory appendix to his name in order to distinguish him from all other Isaacs and Solomons, and in illustration of this custom it might perhaps be useful to quote some of the names borne by English Jews prior to the expulsion of 1290. In the records of that period we find reference to numerous patronymic names: Aaron fil Isaac, Aaron fil Deudone, Aaron fil Samuel, Abraham fil Aaron, Abraham fil Benedict, Abraham fil Benjamin, Abraham fil Jacob, Abraham fil Rabbi, Abraham fil Vives, Bendit fil Mosse, Deulacresse fil Benjamin, Jacob fil Ysaac, Josce fil Leun, Josce fil Manasse, and dozens of others.

Among local surnames are Aaron de Colcestre, Aaron de Lincolnia, R. Aaron of Canterbury, Abraham de Bristol, Abraham de Norwicz, Amiot de Excestre, Benedict de Faversham, Isaac de Joueigny, Ysaac de Russie (probably the first known reference to a Russian Jew in England), Jacob de Paris, Jacob de Westminstre, Deulecresse de Danemarcia, a Danish Jew, Jeremias de Grimesby, Ursel de Bedeford, and also Josce de Domo Samson, Joseph of the house of Samson.

Illustrating surnames of office and occupation we get Abraham Gabbai, a name still borne in the community; Abraham le Vesq, Abraham the bishop, *i.e.* the dayan;¹ Abraham Pernas, Benedict le Puncteur, Benedict Pernaz, Benjamin Magister, Deodatus Episcopus, also a dayan;

¹ Recent researches have shown that Le Vesq equals Cohen rather than the bishop.

Isaac Medicus, Isaac Magister puerorum, a schoolmaster; Jacob Presbyter, Jacob Scriptor, Moses Nakdan, Samuel le Prestre, also Theobald Convert, William Convert, and others, ancestors of some of the Conyers families of the present day.

Finally, as surnames derived from nicknames or descriptive of the person are to be found Aaron le Blund, *i.e.* the fair; Benedict Parvus, the modern English surname Small, Little or Short, or the German Klein; Benedict Lengus, in modern English Long, the progenitor of the Langs and Langes that we know; Deudone cum pedibus tortis, a lame man or a cripple; Duzelina vidua Mossy cum naso, Duzelina the widow of Mossy with the nose, a gentleman whose nose was apparently his most prominent feature; Isaac le Gros, we still have the same surname in the London Jewish community; Isaac Senex; Mosse Juvenis.

Coming to the present-day Jewish surnames we find that the classes into which non-Jewish surnames are divided, namely, patronymics, local surnames, surnames of office and occupation, and nicknames are all represented. In considering the subject of modern Jewish nomenclature, it must also be remembered that the Jew has displayed, in many instances, a tendency to tire of the name borne by his ancestors, and to acquire one that sounds more in accordance with his modern European surroundings. In a list of over 4000 members of the United Synagogue many obviously un-Jewish names are to be found, and as they are borne by Jews although perhaps not Jewish themselves, I may perhaps be permitted to give the derivations of a few of them. Beddington, a local surname; Butler, a surname of occupation and also of office; Curtis, a descriptive surname meaning courteous; Cooper, a maker of coops, a word surviving in hen-coop; Collins, possibly an anglicisation of Cohen, meaning the son of little Cole or Colin; Clifford, originally de Clyfford, from the clough; Campbell, a well-

known Scotch name, meaning crook-mouthed; Farmer, a surname of occupation; Ford, in the old records Ate Ford or de la Forde, a local surname; Gates, from Richard atte Gate; Hudson, the son of Hudde; Hardinge, a personal name akin to Hermann; Hickman, equalling Isaac, a very appropriate English name for a Jew; Hawkes, a pure nickname; Jameson, the equivalent of Jacobs, the son of Jacob; Lucas, a patronymic surname, the son of Luke; Lipscombe, a local surname meaning from the combe or ridgy hollow in the shape of a lip; Marchant, probably a translation of Kaufmann; Morton, a probable modification of Moses; Monk, a surname of office, rather inappropriate for one of our people; Montagu, a Norman local surname—*de monte acuto*, from the sharp-pointed mountain; Morley, also a local surname; Merton, another local surname; Moore, either from le More, meaning the Moor or native of Morocco, or from atte Mor, de la Mor, the descendant of one who lived on a moor; Norris, meaning the nurse, the Norwegian, or merely one coming from the North of England; Nelson, the son of Eleanor; Neville, another local surname from Neville in Normandy; Norman, either a patronymic surname or a local one meaning the northman or the Norman; Noel, a patronymic surname meaning Christmas; Parker, descended either from Adam le Parkere, John del Parc, or Roger atte Parke; Partridge, a nickname; Richardson and Robinson, whose meanings are apparent; Russell, meaning red; Somers, a local name equalling St. Omer; Stephens, the son of Stephen; Sydney, a local surname from St. Denys; Scott, the Scotsman; Tower, a local surname; Wilson, the son of William; Wagg, possibly from Robert le Wag, a descriptive surname; Waley, the foreigner, akin to Welsh, and the German designation for Italians; Welfare, a nickname; and Warner, a surname of office equalling le Warrener. In addition, two Scandinavian patronymic surnames, Simonsen and Victorsen, were included in the list.

These surnames of non-Jewish origin formed about five per cent. of the whole number considered, among which the following twenty recurred most frequently: Cohen, 159 times; Levy, Levi, also 159 times; Jacobs, 111 times; Solomons, Solomon, and Salomons, 102 times; Davis, 93; Joseph and Josephs, 77; Isaacs, 75; Phillips, 74; Harris, 72; Abraham and Abrahams, also 72; Hyams, Hymans, Heyman, &c., 67; Woolf, in various spellings, 63; Moses, also 63; Samuel and Samuels, 62; Hart, 60; Barnett, Barnard, &c., 50; Marks, 47; Benjamin, 45; Lazarus, 43; and Green, 20. These were, of course, taken from a list of Ashkenazim. If Sephardi names had also been taken into account, the proportion of Cohens and Levis would have been increased.

The first class of surnames, namely patronymics, includes a very large proportion of those borne by Jews, and they are all, with few exceptions, easily traceable. Commencing with biblical names, and taking Abraham, father of many nations, as the first, we obtain derivatives in Ebril, Abers, Aberl, Aberlin, Aberlein, Abreska, Aberke (in Hungary little Abraham; the termination -ke or -ka denotes an Hungarian or Slavonic origin), Ebermann, the Europeanised form of Abraham+männ, the frequent Abrahams, the plain Abraham, the shortened Braham, Abrahamson, Abromovitch, Abramovitch, and Abramovitz in Russia; Abram, Abrams, and also once Babrahams, borne, I believe, by a converted Jew who wished to disguise his origin. In addition there are Aberzuss, sweet little Abraham, and Aberlieb, dear little Abraham. From Isaac, laughter, we get of course Isaac and Isaacs with various spellings—recently a family spelling the name Izaaks attained some notoriety—Lachman, Sachs, Sacks, Sack, Saxe, Hickman, Hitchcock, and the diminutives Seckel, Sichel, and Zeklin. Lachman is also sometimes derived from Leechman, physician. From Jacob, a supplanter, the innumerable Jacobs, Jacob, Jacobus, Jacobson, Jackson, Jacobi, Jacoby; Yokelson,

the son of little Jacob; Koppel, little Jacob; and the same name reversed as Leppok; Benjacob, Koppelovitch and Kaplowitch, equivalents of Jacobs and Jacobson, Kaplan, Kaplin,¹ and also Kaufman. This last name, being taken for the German word meaning merchant, has sometimes been anglicised into Marchant or Merchant. No doubt, in some instances it belongs to the class of occupation surnames which will be dealt with later, but it is also in many instances the equivalent through the Hebrew of Jacob + the termination -mann. We also find Koppellmann, a diminutive of the same. It is perhaps in place here to explain the termination -mann continually recurring in the course of this paper. In most Jewish surnames the suffix -mann is a contraction of Menachem, the comforter, given to many Jewish boys born in the month of Ab, just as Sabbathai or the Polish-Jewish Shebsel is often given to boys born on the Sabbath. Kaufmann therefore in most cases equals Jacob Menachem rather than merchant. Mann is also a term of endearment used by mothers when addressing their boys. Kopinski, the Polish, and Scobeleff, the Russian, are also equivalents of Jacobs. Israel, prevailing with God, furnishes Israel, Israels, and Israelson only to Jewish nomenclature. From Joseph we get Joseph, Josephs, Josephson, Yoish, Yosl, Jessel, Joslin, and Joskin, all diminutives; Jessop, not often met with among Jews; Jossel, Josselson, Jocelyn in France, and Josephi. From Simeon, hearing, comes the same name used as a surname, and its diminutive Simnel. From Judah, meaning confession, are derived Judah, Jewell, a diminutive, Judelson, a son of little Judah, and the female name Judith. From this name also a very large number of the descendants of the patriarchs derive their surnames, although at first sight the derivation may not seem very patent. It will, no doubt, be remembered that Jacob, when near his death, called his sons around and gave to

¹ Kaplan and Kaplin are also derived through the Russian from Cohen.

each his blessing. To Judah he said: "Judah is a lion's whelp. He stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?" Basing their authority on this passage, Jews, that is to say the descendants of Judah, in innumerable instances adopted the surname of Lion. In Germany they called themselves Lö, Löwe, Lowe, Löbusch, Löbel, Löwel, Löblein, diminutives, and Ben-Löb; Leuw in Holland; Leon in France and Spain; Leoni in Italy; Leo, Lion, Lionel the diminutive in England, and perhaps also Lyons, in imitation of the English surname. Leon is also sometimes a local surname, as will be shown later. Others adopted the Hebrew form Ben-Ari. The frequency of zoological names among Jews has frequently puzzled students of the subject, some of whom have come to the conclusion that they are altogether without meaning and are purely borrowed.

The founder of the neighbouring tribe of Benjamin, the son of my strength, was told that he should ravin as a wolf. In the morning he should devour the prey, and at night he should divide the spoil. Hence Wolf in its countless spellings, Lopez in Spanish, Lopes in Portuguese. "Naphtali is a hind let loose," and consequently we have Hirsch, Herz, Hertz, Hart, Harris and Harrison in England, Hertzl and Herschell German diminutives, Herten, the son of Hertz, and Hirschkovitsch and Herskovitz in Russian, names that would occupy many pages in a Jewish directory.

Of Ephraim it was foretold in Genesis xlviii. that he should multiply exceedingly. The symbol of fruitfulness was a fish. Fisher therefore became the equivalent of Ephraim. This name has also sometimes been substituted for Moses, in allusion to his earliest recorded adventure. The Italian name Menaschi is derived from Manasseh, from which is also obtained Manasse. Levi is more often a tribal name than a patronymic, and perhaps ought not to be treated at this point. It gives us Levy, Levi, Levie,

Levay, Lavey, Levin, Lewin, Levene, Levien, Lewinson, Levinsohn, Levison, Levenson, Lewinsky, Levinsky, Lewis very often, Louissohn, Lewey, Löwy, Lowy, Loewe, Loewi, Leve, and by a transposition of the two first letters, Elvy. Löwe, translated into English, becomes Lion also. As purely a tribal name we get Halévy and Ha-Levi, and Aleuy and Haliva among the Sephardim.

Issachar was a strong ass couching down between two burdens, and for that reason we count among our names: Achsel, Schulter (ready to bear the burden), and thence through bearan, Bär, Baer, Beer, Bärell, Berlin, Bärsch, Bernhard, Berthold, Barnett,¹ and Barnard.

Other biblical names used as modern surnames are Samuel, Samuels, Samuelson, Sanvel, Sanville, Zangwill, and Saville; Asher, Ascher, Asherson, Assur, and Archer; Solomon, Solomons, Salomon, Salaman, Salomons, Salmon, Salmen, Sloman, Slowman, Salom, Salome, Salomone. All Jewish boys born in the year of Alexander's visit to the Holy Land were named after him. His name became the kinnui of Solomon, and hence the Jewish Alexander and Saunders. Jonas, Jones, and Jonassohn from Jonah; from Gedaliah, Guedalla; Lazarus, Ellosor, Lazar, Lazan, and Lewis sometimes, equal Eleazar; Samson and Sampson; Nathan, Nathanson, Bennaton, and Bennoson; Elkan and Elkin from Elchanan; Mordecai; Joel; from Elijah, Elias, Ellis, Ellison, Eliason, Eliasaf, and also Elliot and Eliotson, although I have never heard of Jews bearing either of these last two names; Zacharias and Zachariah; Abelson; Aaron, Aarons, Aron, Aaronson, Aronson, Aronovich and Aronoff in Russia; Joshua; from David, Davids, Davidson, Davison, Davies, Davis, Bendavid; Enoch; from Moses, Moses, Moss, Mosely, Mosessohn, Mosesson, Mossel, the diminutive, and Möise, the Turkish form; Emanuel and Manuel. From Menachem we get, in addition to the terminal syllables to a great many other names, the following complete surnames: Mann, Man, Menke, Menkin, Menlin, Mandl,

¹ Barnett, when of Scandinavian origin, means the child.

Mendl, Mendel, Mendelssohn, Mendelson, Manin, Monitz, and Monnish.

Other patronymic surnames are: Phillips and Phillipsohn, sometimes from Philip; Henry, and the Spanish Henriques or Enriques, which if derived from Heinrich mean the home ruler, the ruler of the home—another suggested meaning of Heinrich is "rich in slaves"; Lewis and Louisson; Marks, Marx, Marcus, Marcuson, Marcussen, Marksohn and Marcovitch; Raphaël and Raffalovitch; Anshell, Anschel, Ansell, equalling Angel; Symons, Simons, Simons, Simmonds, Simon, Symonds; Gabriel and Gabrielsen; Pincus; Bensabat, the son of Sabbathai; Benhakov; Joachimson and Joachim; Tobias; Adolphus; Wilks from William; Perez, whence is obtained the name Peru, meaning the son of Peter; Fernandez, the son of Ferdinand. In this class may also be included such names as Barabbas, son of his father.

The second great group into which the surnames borne by Jews may be divided is that which is known under the designation of Local Surnames. The Jews in their wanderings settled or passed through all countries, and with each they have seemingly retained some connection through the surnames that they or their descendants bear. Most of the states of the world have assisted in supplying the names that would fill a Jewish directory; Germany has been especially prolific in the creation of Jewish local surnames. Holland, Poland, and Galicia are, however, also well represented, while among the Sephardim numerous names are reminiscent of the Peninsula and Italy. In some cases from the name borne by a family the wanderings of one of its ancestors can be deduced. Berlinsky was undoubtedly adopted by a native of Berlin who settled in Poland; the Dutch names of Van Weenen, Van Oven, and Van Praagh, by natives of the Austrian dominions who obtained their names while in Holland, the first came from Vienna, the second from Ofen, and the third from Prague. Holland has furnished

the following names to Jewish families: Amstell; De Fries, De Vries and Frieser from Friesland; Leeuwarden; Van Staveren from Stavoren; De Winter and Winter from Deventer; Van Gelder from Gelderland; Helder; Neumegen; Scharl, Van Raalte, Bronkhorst, Van Houten, Winkel, Limburg, Van Vlymen, Van Thal, from the valley; Van den Bergh, from the mountain; Vandersteen, from the hill; Van Buren, from the cottages or boors' houses; Vandersluis, Vandersluys, Vanderlyn, Vander Linde, Vanderlinden, from the lime trees; Van der Velde, from the field; Van Rhyn, from the Rhine; Vandyck and Vandyke, from the cutting; Van de Molen, from the mill; Van der Meer, from the lake; Hollander does not always mean a Dutchman, but sometimes one coming from Holland, a small German town.

By far the greatest number of Jewish local surnames in general use have originated in the German states. From Prussia and North Germany come Blanckensee, Rosenberg, Flatau (Flatow), Posen, Posner and Posener from Posen, Schrimm, Woolstone from Woolstein, Königsberg, and its English forms Kingberg and Kingsberg, Landsberg, Birnbaum and its anglicised equivalent Peartree, Hamburg, Hamburger, and Hambro from Hamburg, Hildesheim and Hildesheimer from Hildesheim, Hochheim, Linden, Vanderlinden, a German Jew settled in Holland, Emden and Embden, Bernberg, Schonthal, Summerfeld whence Summerfield—this name has also been derived from the French Somerville—Behrendt, Bresslau and Breslauer from Breslau, Berliner, Berlinsky from Berlin, Bergen, whence possibly Berger although another explanation has also been found for this name, Dessau and Dessauer from Dessau, Dancyger and Danziger from Danzig, Edersheim, a slight alteration of Edesheim, Eichholz from Eikholtz, Friedländer from Friedland, Grünberg and Greenberg, Goldberg, Hirschberg, Hannover, Hollander from Holland, Hirschberg, Kempner, and probably Kemp from Kempen, De Lissa and Delissa from Lissa, Lautenburg, Lindow, Landeshut, Mansfeld and

Mansfield, Nordheim, Neuhaus, Norden, Neumark and Newmark, Offenbach, Schönberg, Sternberg, and Silberberg.

From other parts of Germany we get Altdorf and Altdorfer, Assenheim, Auerbach, Bamberger from Bamberg, Bischofsheim, Bernberg, Bonn, Bingen, Bloomberg from Blomberg, Brunswick, Brunschwig and Braunschweiger, Cleve and Van Cleef from Cleves, the latter through the Dutch, Cassel, Van Duran from Düren, Dreyfus,¹ Dreyfuss, Dreyfous, Treves and Trier from Trêves, Dinkelspiel from Dinkelsbuhl, Dresden, Dresdner, and Dresner from Dresden, Elzas, Elsas, Elsaesser and Elsasser from Elsass, Ettlinger from Ettlingen, Fuld and Fulda from Fulda, Friedeberg and Friedeberger from Friedberg, Friedländer from Friedland, Gold, Golding, and Goldinger from Gelling in Bavaria, Guttenberg from Gutenberg in Wurtemberg, Günzberg, Grünberg, Goldberg, Heilbronn, Heilbron, Heilbrun, and their equivalent Alfron, Hart sometimes from Hertingen in Bavaria, Heidelberg from Heidelberg, Landau and Landauer, Landsberg, Leipziger from Leipzig, Löwenstein, Van Mentz and Mainzer from Mayence, Mannheim, Mannheimer and Monheimer from Mannheim, Meininger from Meiningen, Nassauer from Nassau, Neustetel from Neustadtel, Nordheim and Nordheimer, Neuhaus, Neuburger, Newmark from Neumark, Oppenheim and Oppenheimer from Oppenheim, Pass, Depass, Dupass from Pasingas in Bavaria, de Pinna from Pinne, Ratisbonne, Rosenfeld, Schönberg, Schwabach and Schawabacher from Schwabach, Saalburg, Saalfeld, Sonnenberg, Sonnenfeld, Sachs, Saxe and De Saxe sometimes from Saxony, Schwarzenburg, Strelitzki from Strelitz, Strassburg, Sternburg, Sinsheim, Speyer, Spier, Spiers, Spires, &c., from Speyer, Tiktin, Wertheim and Wertheimer from Wertheim, Wynbergen, Weinberg, Warburg, Wetzlar, Worms, De Worms and Wurmser from Worms and Wittenburg.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire supplies in addition to

¹ Another derivation of Dreyfus is from the nickname borne by shoemakers in allusion to the three-legged stools they use.

Strauss and Osterreicher meaning Austrian, the following names among others: Van Adelberg from Adelsberg, Breslau and Bresslauer from Breslau, Broady from Brod and Brody, Budweis, Boss from Bosinga, Crawcour, Krakawer, Krakower, and Krakowsky from Cracow, Freudenthal, Friedländer from Friedland, Grätz, Goldberg, Lunzer possibly from Linz, Neuhaus, Prag, Prager Praeger, and Van Praagh from Prague, Rubenstein, Rosenberg, Sternberg, Wiener, and Van Weenen from Vienna. From Silesia are derived Schlesinger and Schlessinger. It will be noticed that certain names such as Rosenberg, Grünberg, and Neuhaus recur frequently in a gazetteer of the German states.

From Poland come the names terminating in -ski, denoting place of origin, and of similar value to the prefix de in French, von in German, and van in Dutch. In addition to such names as Velensky, Willenski, and Wilenski from Wilna, Warschawsky from Warsaw, Lubinski from Lubin, Lublinski from Lublin, we derive from Poland Warschauer from Warsaw, Kalisch, Kalischer, Kaliskie and probably Carlisch from Kalisz, and Kutner from Kutno. From the name of the province itself we get Poland, Pollock, Polack, Polak, Pollak, Poole, Pool, and De Polacco.

For the origin of Sephardi local names we have to go further to the south, and to Spain and Portugal in particular. Great numbers of them, however, were not obtained in the ordinary manner, but were borrowed from the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Peninsula. Spain supplies modern Jewry with Alfandari from Alfambra, Almanzi from Almanza, De Avila from Avila, Aguilar, Belmonte, Cordova and De Cordova, De Castro from Castro, Caracossa, Carvajal, Cardoso from El Cardoso, Lousada, Leon, sometimes Leão, Deleon, and De Leon, De Lima, Miranda from Mirando, Medina and De Medina, Mezquita, Nabarro and Navarro from Navarre, Robles, Valencin and De Valencia and Villa Real.

From Portugal come Almeida, Da Almeida, and Dalmeida, Carvalho, Lisbona, Miranda, Mesquitas, Pavia, De Paiva, Paiva, De Paiue, De Paiba, and Villa Real. It will be noticed that many of these geographical names are common to both Spain and Portugal. From Italy we get Alatini and Alatrini from Alatri, Castello, Foligno, Genese from Genoa, Meldola, Modena, Montefiore, Mortara, Murriatto, Motta, Piperno, Perugia, Pisa and Piza, Pavia and its variations, Romanelli, Romanin, Romain, Romaine, and Romanel from Rome—Obadja di Bertinora, the famous commentator, came from Bertinora. From other countries Jews have drawn local surnames to a less extent. France has furnished Narboni from Narbonne, Bedaresi from Beziers, Picart from Picardy, Belfort, and Morley. From Switzerland come Schweitzer, Schweizer, and Tuck from Tuging. Other European states supply, Koppenhagen, Manschester, London sometimes and Londoner from this capital, Servian, Moskow, and Moskowitz, Courlander, Rothschild from Roeskilda in Denmark—the well-known family derives its name from another source. Leaving Europe we find Afrigan, Alfez and Alfasi from Fez, Mogadoiro, Mogadro and Mogadouro from Mogador, Maurice, Morris, Morrice, Moor and Moore showing Moorish descent, Euphrat, De Levante, and Jamaiker.

Other local surnames are: Esterman, Oesterman and Osterman, and Van Oestren from the east: Frank, Franks, Franco, and their diminutives Frankl, Frankel, and Franklin, names borne by occidental families that settled in Turkey, and afterwards returned to Germany, or in the case of Franco to Spain; Tedesca and Todesco, German or Austrian settlers in Italy: Ashkenazi, Ashkenazy, Alaman—Aleman still flourish in the Turkish Dominions—Deutschman and Deutsch anglicised into Dutch designating German; Waley and Wallach equalling Welsh and Walsh, and meaning stranger, foreigner—Wallach has two other meanings, a Wallachian and also a gelding. Further local although not geographical surnames are:

Altschul, Altschuler, Alschuler, Altschuel, descendants of worshippers at the Altschul, a famous old synagogue at Prague. The various synagogues at Constantinople also gave distinguishing names to the descendants of some of their members. From this source are derived some of the Ashkenazys, the Romanos (Jews of the Empire), &c. The different branches of one family bore the surnames of Bethel and De Synagoga, their place of origin being Casadio (House of God).

In this class are also included such names as Oberdorfer, from the upper village; Delmonte, from the mountain; Del Valle; Berg, mountain; Castleberg, equalling Schlossberg; Nordwald, Birnbaum, Blumenthal, Schloss, Schonstadt, Schoenfeld; Da Silva, from the wood; Wolfensberger, dweller in the wolf's mountain; Spinoza, dweller in a spinny, a place of thorns; Wald, Hochwald; Figenbaum, a fig-tree; Titelbaum, a dead tree; Lillienthal, Grunebaum, and Greenbaum. Weil equals Weiler, a man who comes from a German hamlet. Ordinary English equivalents are such names as Underhill, Atwell (at the well), Wells (of the well), Attwood (at the wood), Attenborough or Atterbury (at the borough), à Becket (at the becket or streamlet), Hill, Castle, Wood, Forest, and a great number of others. Many of these names were acquired by Jews almost within the memory of living men. For instance, one family is known to have chosen the name Grunebaum from a tree that stood before its dwelling. Mediæval house-signs have also furnished their quota to modern Jewish nomenclature. From this source come such names as Rothschild (red escutcheon), Schwartzchild (black escutcheon), Hochschild, Adler (eagle), Ganz (goose), Schiff (ship), Straus (an ostrich), Silberkron, Ochs.

The great variety of trades and occupations adopted by Jews at different times and in different countries has not failed to leave its impress on the nomenclature of the race, and to furnish indisputable proofs of the descent of many of the families of present-day Jewry. In works on

non-Jewish nomenclature a section is generally set apart for the consideration of what are termed Official Surnames. The representatives of that class in Jewry are necessarily few, for opportunity for acquiring such designations seldom fell to the Jew of past centuries. In the community, however, various offices had to be filled, and these have had their influence on the family names of the descendants of their holders. The synagogue has been responsible for Parnass, Gabbay, Gabai and Gubbay, Singer, Cantor, Forleser (German), Voorsanger (Dutch), Khazon and Chazan (Hebrew), Contarini and Coen-Cantorini (Italian), Shamas, Schaechter, Schechter, Shohet and Schochet, Ballin (bath-keeper), Zwicker (barber, or rather hair-eradicator), Dayan, Benscher (one who blesses), Shulman, Shadkun (an envoy of Hymen), Moreno, Rabe (a rabbi), Rabinowitz and Rabbinovitz (son of a rabbi), Benmohel.¹ Cohen, a tribal as much as an official name, has known many variations. In Italy it is met with under the guise of Sacerdote. Other forms are: Acohen, Coen, Cohn, Cahen, Cahn, Kahn; in this country, in order to give it an English ring, it has been modified into Cowen and Cowan—the latter is really a fairly common Scotch name signifying smith—and Cohenson the patronymic. Kalman and Coleman are also sometimes traced to the same origin. These names, however, come in many instances from the Greek Kalonymos “of beautiful name” or “fair-famed.” This name became popular among Jews on account of the celebrity of several Italo-Jewish bearers of it. Another equivalent of Cohen is Adler, the outstretched hands in the priest’s blessing resembling the wings of an eagle.

The learned professions have given Rophé (Hebrew) and Alfaquin (Arabic), both meaning physician; Adhan, that is to say Aldahhan (Arabic), a painter or oil-merchant. Turning to other occupations we get Kunzler, an artist; Abudarham, *i.e.* Abu-dirham, Arabic for father of

¹ Benmohel is also an acrostic formed in a manner similar to the examples that will be found later.

the dirhem or taxes; Almosnino, an orator (Arabic); Jalfon (Hebrew) and Wechsler (German), money-changer; Schreiber, a writer; Spielmann, a player; Sherman and Schermer, a fencer or fighter (Dutch); Kauffmann, Kaufman, Cauffmann and Marchant, meaning merchant in addition to the origin already given; Handelsmann and Chapman—this name sometimes equals Elchanan ben Menachem through Handl, the recognised diminutive for Elchanan—Alfual, the bean-merchant (Spanish); Alfakar, the potter (Arabic); Buchbinder, Boekbinder, and Bookbinder, Drukker and Drucker, a printer; Steinschneider (German), an engraver; Mocato and Mocatta (Arabic), a mason¹; Zimmermann (German) and Anidjah (Al Nadjar, Arabic), a carpenter; Bauer, Bauman, and Bowman, a builder; Poppmacher, a doll-maker; Pulvermacher, Feldman, Berger, a shepherd (French); Schlosser, a locksmith; Weber and Webber, a weaver; Koster, a door-keeper; Schuster, Schneider, Schneiders, and Snyders, a tailor and son of a tailor; Waldman and its variations Goldman, Coldman, and Goodman, meaning woodman; Cramer, a small trader or retailer; Kruger, a keeper of a roadside public-house where beer is sold out of a crock. The extraordinary-looking Flyshaker is an Americanisation of Fleischaker, a butcher. Hofman and Hoffmann do not mean courtier only. Other interpretations are a heathen priest, a sacrificer, a field-labourer, and, in fact, anybody connected with "hof," a court or harbour.

Another very numerous class of surnames is that which includes all those which were descriptive of their original bearers. From the respective personal appearances of the founders of families, descendants of whom we continually meet, are Schwartzkopf, Schwartz, Braun, Brown, given to dark representatives of the race; Alvarez, son of Alva, pale (Spanish); Blokopf, pale head; Alashkar, red (Arabic); Weiss, Wise, Whiteman, Blank, White, variations of the same name in the west European languages; Rose and Ruse, also Di Rossi—Asarjah di Rossi, the man of letters,

¹ Another meaning for this name is "curtailed."

was known to Jewish writers as *Min-ha-Adomim*, of the red—and *Rothkopf*. Good-looking people were named *Jaffe* and *Yaffey* (beautiful) from the Hebrew, and *Huebsch* (German), *Schöndel* and *Shandel* (little and beautiful), *Bonfet*, well-made. *Long*, *Lang*, *Lange*, *Gross*, *Gros*, represent the descendants of men above the medium height, and *Klein* of those below the average. *Alhabil* is the Arabic for hunchback; *Altson* and *Altman* explain themselves. *Michel*, *Mitchell*, and consequently *Michael*, *Michaels*, and *Michaelson*, if their Anglo-Saxon origin be accepted, mean great, but names derived from such a source can hardly be considered Jewish. Similar names in Spanish and Italian are *Bravo* and *Rossini*, both meaning a fine man, and in the Portuguese *Costa*, a leader or strong. Personal decorations have necessarily given many names to members of our race. I will select four: *Schan-farben* (beautiful colours), *Greenhut* (green hat), *Lawrence* and *Lorenço*, covered with laurel.

Leaving names derived from physical attributes, we enter the next subsection of descriptive surnames. As adaptations in various countries of "blessed" there are to be found *Baruch*, the original, *Baruh*, *Barrow*, *Baron*, *Barnett* sometimes, *Benisch*, *Benedictus*, *Benedict*, *Bendet*, *Bennet*, and *Bennett*. *Selig*, happy, a *kinnui* or civil equivalent of *Phineas*, gives *Selig*, *Seelig*, *Seligman*, *Selinger*, *Sellinger*, and *Salinger*. Good fortune is represented by *Gluck*, *Glick*, *Gluecklich* from the German, and *Bonheur* in France. *Biedermann* was a worthy man; the name *Biedermann* was conferred by the Emperor on an Austrian banker in consequence of the confidence he reposed in him; *Fromet*, a pious one; *Fleisig*, diligent; *Schuldenfrei*, free from debt; *Gutmann* and *Goodman*,¹ when they do not mean woodman, are the descendants of men whose good qualities were famous. A person whose attributes were the same was the ancestor of *Joseph Bonfils*, the poet, who was also

¹ These names are in some instances local surnames derived from *Gutenberg*.

known as Joseph Tob-Elem (good child). Gutkind and Tobias are similar names. Gittelson is the son of the good little one. Peace has her advocates in Friedemann, Freedman, Freeman, Shalom, Sholem, Solomon, &c., as well as Pacifico. Muntz means pure or the protector, and is a literal translation of the Norman name De Vere. Gottschalk, Godtschalk, and Gosschalk, and their acrostic Goetz in the German (*Anglicè*, Yates), Abadi in the Arabic, all mean God's servant. God-loving is represented by Gottlieb and Lipgott, Philo, Theophilus, translations of the Hebrew Jedidiah. Bensusan and Sassoon, when they are not local surnames, mean joy. Lehman, Leman, and Lemon are occasionally derived from the Norman Lief, well-beloved. The ordinary derivation from the German, however, amounts to the same. It is a kinnui of Judah, and appears in various forms, such as Libermann, Liebermann, Liebman, Lipmann, Lipman, Lehman, Lemon, &c. Ehrmann is derived from honour. Valentine, powerful; Avigdor, the victor; Kuhn, bold or daring. Sugarman,¹ Sigmund, Sigismund were men of victory. Engelman, the same as the English Cadogan, was a young warrior. Kenner, the one who knows, was learned in the Talmud. Lamb and Lemel were harmless. Anaw, the name of a family that was, according to tradition, one of the four most prominent brought by Titus to Rome, also means modest or meek. Alshech is Arabic for the elder, and Almoli equals Almu'alli, the one who raises up. Newman and Neumann were newcomers in the place of their naming or converts. Sussmann, Zussmann, Suskind were considered sweet. Gumprecht was a bright man, equalling gumo or homo and precht. The same name is found as Gumpert and Kompert. Gompertz is the bright man's son; Gumpel, the little man.

In the class of descriptive surnames may rightly be included as a subsection the various nicknames that have

¹ Sugarman is also sometimes a translation of Zuckermann (a dealer in sugar).

been crystallised into hereditary surnames. If a wide interpretation were given to this sub-heading, the whole of this class could be included under it. Of nicknames proper, however, there appear to be comparatively few represented in modern Jewish nomenclature. In a work dealing with surnames generally, the various animal names in which Jewry is comparatively rich would come under this heading, but it has already been shown that the equivalents of lion, hart, wolf, &c. have derivations other than their seeming ones, and are consequently not derived from nicknames. Other similar names, such as Wallach, a gelding (German), Apple, the equivalent of Happel, a term used in Silesia for a horse, were adopted by men who were engaged in horse-dealing, or some kindred occupation. So widespread, however, are these animal surnames in Jewry that the late Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson was of opinion that family names derived from animals almost invariably denoted Jewish extraction, as he thought that he could discover the nationality in the physique of their bearers. Other names belonging to the nickname section are Shem Tob (good name, Hebrew), Bonny, Bondi, and Yomtob (good day), Guttwoch, Purim, Ostertag, Rothkugel, Langleben, Marcus and its derivatives, equivalents of Maccabee, the hammer, Schlüssel and Key; the latter when borne by Jews is merely an anglicisation of the former—the English name Key is of Anglo-Saxon origin—and Leon Templo, a name borne by a family a member of which constructed a model of the temple. Another series that may be termed royal and imperial—Keyzor, Kyezor, Kaiser, Keyser, Rey, Koenig, King, Fürst, and Aloof—are in the general population derived from ancestors who took the respective parts in local celebrations. It is doubtful whether the same origin can be claimed in the case of Jews, and by them the names have probably been borrowed from their neighbours.

If we had been dealing with English surnames, the classes already enumerated and illustrated to some slight

extent would have exhausted the list, and this paper could then have reached its conclusion. Among Jews, however, recourse has been had to other sources of nomenclature. For instance, a not inconsiderable number of Jewish surnames consist of acrostics in accordance with the precedent set by earlier Jewish worthies. Profiat Duran, a writer who flourished at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was known as Efodi, for in Hebrew Efod is composed of the initial letters of Ahni Profiat Duran. Similarly, R. Moses ben Maimon or Maimonides was also known as Rambam, Rabbi Moses ben Nachman as Ramban and R. David Kimchi as Redak. Of modern surnames Schön or Schen is an acrostic for Schliach Neemon, the faithful messenger; Katz, in English Cat, for Kohn Tzedek, the priest of righteousness; Schatz and Kincz, the Magyar term for treasure, for Schliach Tzibur, the messenger of the congregation. Goetz equals Ger Tzedek, the proselyte; Babad equals Ben Ab Beth Din, the son of the president of the House of Judgment; Sack, Sera Kadosh, the holy posterity. A final -s denotes the initial letter of the name of a town. For instance, Sachs and Sax sometimes represent the Holy Posterity of Speyer. Bram means Ben Rabbi Moses; Bran, Braun, and in England Brown, Ben Rabbi Nachman; Bard, Ben Rabbi David; Bersal, Ben Rabbi Solomon the Levite; Bril, Ben Rabbi Judah the Levite.

Another peculiarity among Jewish surnames is the derivation of the three families of Myers, Hyams and Phillips. The Hebrew Meier, the giver of light, is, of course, in direct parental relationship to Myers, Myer, Mier, Miers, Meyer, Maier, Mayer, Maiersohn, and Kleinmaier, little Myer. From the Greek equivalent of the same word, Phoebos are derived the German-Polish Pheibul, Felbermann, which equals Phœbos + Menachem, and the innumerable Phillip, Phillips, Philipsohn, &c. By a further variation Samson is included in the group, because Schamash means the sun; Schragar, the Chaldaic for candle, is also akin. The sun is moreover the life-giver. Conse-

quently a further change is also permissible, and taking advantage of that permission, numbers of Jewish families adopted the surnames Hyams, Hyman, Hymans, Hymanson, Heymann, Heimans, Heymanson, Hyamson, Hiam, Higham, Vidal and Veitel in Germany, Vitta and Vilo in Italy, Vivien in France, Chaimovitch in Russia. Another equivalent of Meier light is Uri, and of Bezaleel ben Uri, it was said that he was cunning to work gold. The adoption by Uri of Goldschmidt, Goldsmid and Goldsmith as kinnuyim is readily conceived, and thus this huge family obtains yet another branch. The well-known English family of Goldsmid derived its name in this manner from its ancestor R. Uri Halevi.

The well-defined classes of surnames have now all been touched upon, and but a few fragments, miscellaneous appellations unattached to one another and without kin, remain. Some of these remnants, however, possess a beauty, either of derivation or meaning, that has not been granted others that have occurred in this lengthy roll. Speranza is simply hope; Bonavent and Bonaventura, kinnuyim of Pesach, mean "Which comes for good," a beautiful name to give to a child. Margolious, Margoliouth and Perel are variations of Marguerite and Margaret, a pearl; Trost, comfort, is a translation of Nehemiah; Ximenes is pregnant with memories of the old Bible heroines: "Because the Lord heard that I was hated." Azulai was given by Sephardic refugees to a foundling whose family was unknown. The foster-parents doubted whether the child might not have been a Cohen, and therefore took the initial letters of a verse referring to the regulations relating to the priests, and from them formed the surname Azulai. Furtado (stolen) was probably given to an unknown Jewish child stolen by priests and afterwards recovered. The Wahls are said to have derived their name from an ancestor who was chosen king of Poland for the space of one day, and on whom, in memory of his choice, that name was conferred by his successor.

Schöntheil is a translation of Buonaparte. Stiebel has a peculiar origin. It was the custom among religious men who wished to bring good fortune on their houses to offer accommodation to a scholar. The little room occupied by this student of the law was known as Stübel, and from this the scholar later derived his name.

Inquiry into the origins of names borne by our kinsmen leads one almost imperceptibly to consider those of our neighbours that are suggestive of Jewish descent. I shall not pursue the path for any distance, for the subject to which it leads is foreign to that of this paper, but I shall be pardoned, I hope, a few references. The name Jury, formerly spelled Jewry, is not necessarily of Jewish origin. In many cases it was adopted by non-Jews who lived in or near a local ghetto. The surname Jew is, however, on a different footing. It is the descendant of "Roger le Jew" and "Mirabilla Judæus" to be found in the old records, and undoubtedly denotes, in its present bearers, true descendants of the patriarchs. Conyers is also sometimes a corruption of Convers, a designation borne by a converted Jew. In Normandy, David, Davy, Daviel, Salomon, Salmon, Elie, Eliot, Liot, and Liard are very common among the country people, and were believed by Mark A. Lower to belong in most cases to families whose Jewish ancestors were compelled to abandon their faith. In portions of Normandy there are few villages, no matter how small, without their "Rue des Juifs."

In tracing the origin of surnames, the difficulty of an excess of possible derivations often arises. It has been shown, for instance, that Wallach can come from three different sources; that Pavia, Mezquita, Neuhaus, and many other local surnames may be derived from more than one state; that Leon equals Judah, and is also a Spanish local surname. It will thus be seen that the fact that the bearer of one particular appellation obtained it in a manner other than that indicated in this paper does not necessarily vitiate the derivation here proposed.

It only suggests that the surname may have been derived by different families from different origins.

The nominal roll of Jewry has been laid under tribute, and from the proceeds many hints as to the history of the race have been obtained. We have conned the long list of states that have alternately welcomed the Jewish refugees, and then driven them with sword and with contumely from their soil. We have received hints of the methods by which our ancestors sought and obtained their livelihoods, and have found in our present-day surnames evidences of the social life of our forefathers. Even their personal appearances have in many instances been handed down to us and preserved by means that could not deceive. In short, in the nomenclature of the race can be found the history, public and personal, of itself and of its members.

MODERN JUDAISM IN RELATION TO THE STATE

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It requires a certain amount of courage for one member of the religious and social democracy of the Jews to address a Jewish audience on the subject which I have chosen to-night. Modern Judaism in relation to the State means, in a sense, ourselves in relation to our neighbours. But it might also mean—and, unless my hosts of this evening accord to me a sympathetic hearing, there is a danger that it might be mistaken to mean—yourselves in relation to my neighbours; the difference being that in the latter case I shall be assumed to arrogate to myself the invidious position of offering you advice from a detached point of view, whereas the chief desire of which I am conscious is to submit my ideas to the clarifying process of expression, and so to invoke your assistance in determining the questions to be decided.

For what are these questions in the first place? We are acquainted intimately enough with the Jewish Question from the outside—the Jewish Question, as it presents itself to the ministers of the Roumanian Government; the Jewish Question, as it appears in Russian villages and towns; the Jewish Question, as it is interpreted by the Chauvinists of economic Germany, by the priest-ridden patriots of France, by the Nationalists of the decadent Empire which is ruled by the oldest and, perhaps, the wisest Prince in Europe. These facts of modern Jewish

politics are unfortunately beyond disguise. We may even mark the evil nearer home. We are aware, if we hesitate to admit it, that in the great English-speaking country which inscribed the proud name of Liberty on the first independent coinage that it issued—the United States of America—there is in force at this hour a social ostracism of the Jews, which affects the sensitive moral consciousness of to-day hardly less painfully than the physical persecution of the Middle Ages. And we are aware, though it may not be prudent to give it language, that in this England of ours, which more than any State of ancient or modern times has been true to the cardinal points of Imperialism and Freedom, there are gusts and fluctuations of opinion, sudden stirrings of the calmer air, which may be isolated signs, as obscure and irrational in their appearance as certain facts of meteorology itself, or they may be premonitions of a storm to come—but which in any case give pause to the comfortable complacency of contentment, and remind us, as it is well to be reminded, of that glorious record of our descent which we celebrate every year at Passover. Of all the races and nations of mankind which quarter the arms of Liberty on the shield of their honour, none has a better title to that decoration than the Jews. Out of a stiff-necked generation, out of its wanderings in the desert, sprang the meekness of spiritual supremacy and the splendour of political genius, sprang the people which remained a people, united to defend their common good, though they had no territorial possessions, no temporal institutions of sovereignty, no plenipotentiaries at foreign courts. The trumpet note sounded by the poet in the ears of his countrymen at the dawn of the nineteenth century, "We must be free or die, who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold which Milton held," may surely be echoed by us Jews of the language of Moses and the morals of Isaiah. We, too, have had our Pilgrim Fathers. We, too, are trustees of a destiny which transcends the

individual life. And therefore it is well to be reminded, through the individual life, by discomfort or pain or anguish in their several degrees, that the process of Jewish assimilation can never be complete till the prophetic vision is realised: "Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising; . . . for in my wrath I smote thee, but in my favour have I had mercy on thee." Nothing less than this manifestation can satisfy the people of the Book—no smaller light, no minor prophet. On the altar of no lower aspiration, to no less exalted a hope, have they offered the willing sacrifice of dispersion, calumny, and suffering.

"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." This means that the measure of joy shall be equal to the tears of the seed-time, and this alone is the right point of view from which the believers in the national idea of Judaism should consent to discuss the destiny of their race. As a believing Jew, I refuse to make shift with any instalment of that harvest, or to accept a convenient relief from the present affliction of my people as a dividend in full for the joy which they will ultimately reap. As a Zionist, in the true sense of one who seriously believes that the preservation of the Jews, in defiance of every known law of human ethnology and history, has a meaning which is itself a trust, and who marks with how invariable a purpose the local assimilation of the Jews is time after time arrested by a fresh outbreak of anti-Jewish feeling, which throws them back upon themselves in the moment of their greatest peril from the insidious spread of prosperity—as a Zionist in this sense, I say, I regard with profound distrust that attempt to adapt our national idea to the temporary economic requirements of the various States of Christendom, which has been known during the last few years as "Political Zionism." I would say no harsh word of the political Zionists, and in their leader, Dr. Herzl, in especial, every one must recognise a man who is inspired by noble motives and works for a disinterested end. Up

to the limit of their convictions, they are sincere and unselfish and well-intentioned. The mischief is that their convictions are not adequate to the cause which they defend. Political Zionism, as an instrument of salvation, is not a satisfying culmination to the years of apprenticeship in the desert. It is a disappointing solution to that mystery of the ages, that interminable riddle of history—the survival of Israel in exile—to be told that the end and object of it all is the *Judenstaat* of Dr. Herzl's programme. We cannot call it a Restoration of the Jews to be permitted to draft back our outcast poor to Palestine. Zion is the symbol of a larger hope. The "joy" must be more commensurate to the "tears." The ideal, if it is worth labouring for at all, must be conceived in proportion to the suffering of those who served it by waiting. The new Zion must be faithful to the vision of the poet: "Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream . . . As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem." What is there of this streaming glory, this mother-comfort of Jerusalem, in the spectacle of Israel's self-appointed leaders refusing to obey the Prophet who bade them seek the peace of the city where they dwell, "for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace," haggling with a Mahometan Prince for the price of the land in which kings were to come to the brightness of their rising, and drafting into that doomed colony, at the mercy of every revolution in the politics of south-eastern Europe, the pitiable victims of a scheme which is the travesty of Zionism? I shall be told, I have been told, that, in expressing these views, I am sitting in ease and comfort in England while my co-religionists are being persecuted in Roumania and Russia: the implied reproach is illogical and unfair. I do prefer the fleshpots of Egypt to so pusillanimous a surrender of the hope which sustained my ancestors through centuries of oppression. No Jew can reply for himself alone to the invitation of the

political Zionists. It is not you or I who decline it for our own person or in our own circumstances; the answer is dictated by the makers of the past to the trustees of the future of Judaism, and speaking with a consciousness of that responsibility, one may speak without fear of the consequences. Indeed, I would go further, and say that if the true nature of political Zionism—its foundation on a policy of flight and escape, its commercial methods and chimerical statecraft, the measure of its decline from the prophetic ideal, and, I may add, the professed irreligion of some of its most prominent adherents—if these features could be explained to the limited intelligence of the mass of their followers, who are under the spell of the magic of Zion, I venture to think that large numbers of them would prefer even the scanty fleshpots of their particular Egypt—the rigours of an exile such as their forefathers endured—to the alternative proposed to them.

Holding these views, we shall justly conclude that the first obligation incumbent on modern Jews towards the country to which they owe allegiance is that of consistent and unexceptional loyalty. They should avoid every risk of creating the impression that the loyalty which they yield is conditional on their obtaining a state of their own. This apprehension was sincerely entertained by some honest churchmen in England at the time of the debates on the enfranchisement of the Jews in the reign of King William IV., and it taxed the eloquence of Macaulay to ridicule the idea that “millennarians”—the Jews who looked forward to the Zionist millennium—should on that account be excluded from Parliament and office. As long as the hope of Zion is postponed to an era as remote as the dream of human perfectibility, there is nothing to prevent us from fulfilling our duty as citizens; but as soon as that hope is transferred into the material province of purchase and treaty, the question of Jewish patriotism must be seriously reviewed, especially in countries which extend to the Jews a not too willing hospitality. We may

continue to pray that the restoration may be brought about in our own time; indeed, I should count no public service complete which did not include that prayer. But for purposes of practical citizenship, we must take our fate as we find it; and, whether in England or America, whether in Roumania or France, we must build our houses and dwell in them, and seek the peace of the city where we dwell. Occasions will sometimes arise when a conflict of duties will present itself, when it will be hard to steer an even course between the dual claims of Judaism and patriotism. Here in the East End of London, and everywhere throughout England, the elements of such a conflict exist in the controversy about alien immigration. Without referring to the evidence now being taken in another place, and without re-examining here and now the various statistics and figures, it will hardly be disputed that we who are all alike descended, in whatever generation, from alien immigrants into England, feel a natural sympathy with those victims of harsh treatment in other countries who are following in the footsteps of our forebears. But that sympathy, if we are true Englishmen, must be tempered by a just appreciation of the economic conditions of our own country. It is not for us to-night to attempt to hold the balance between the two, and there is room for a variety of opinions on the present gravity of the situation. But if His Majesty's Commissioners should conscientiously decide that the tide of alien immigration, whether owing to the too great numbers of the immigrants, or to their state of too great destitution, or to the defective police supervision of the countries from which they arrive, or to any other cause which renders some of them technically "undesirable" as residents on these narrow islands—if on good grounds the Commission should recommend that the tide be checked or controlled, we should reflect very gravely before we give our racial sympathies the prior claim over our sense of the national need. Happily, these instances of conflict, of weighing one claim against

another, arise very seldom in Great Britain, and I am not altogether sure if the infrequency of their occurrence is not in itself a good reason to give preferential consideration to the national claim on this occasion.

It may be said that by reclaiming the Zionist ideal from the busy hands of the political Zionists, who would shape it here and to-day to a visible end, we are virtually abolishing it altogether from the region of practical politics; and there will not be wanting those who add that our postponement is merely a pretext for abandoning the ideal, and that, being well enough off as we are, we place our millennium in the Greek Kalends. I think we should be on our guard against paying too much attention to cynical criticism of this sort. It is very easy to advance, and very difficult to refute in words. But this at least we may urge, that no honest and thoughtful Jews are ever suffered to forget that, at the best, they are but sojourners in the land. The intermittent recrudescence of anti-Semitism is now so familiar a phenomenon that it is not fanciful to associate it with that purpose and moral in our history which can be read between the lines of Jewish annals. Till the millennium is reached, till our mission is completed, till the era of Zion recurs—however we may express the proposition—we shall never be well enough off to say finally, our exile is ended. As long as the moral force of prejudice and the physical force of persecution are manifest, we can never hug the comfortable belief that the end of our wanderings has been reached. And as to the remoteness of that end, if faith cannot bridge the distance, we may summon reason to its aid. The face of the world, even in these doubting times, is not so free from the marks of the fingers of Divine Providence that those who clutch at an unconquerable hope should be reckoned fanatic or insincere. Who can enter the threshold of St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome, which is dedicated in all its wealth of beauty to the greater glory of the God who is worshipped through half the earth, and not remember that it is built

on the site where Nero watched in his Circus the martyrdom of the early Christians? Who can stand in the Amphitheatre of Titus, and miss the wonderful reflection that the palace of the spiritual Sovereign of Christendom looks down from the opposite hill on that ruined Colosseum where Christians have been thrown to wild beasts? And if these miracles—these surprises of history—have been wrought in a few short centuries, is it unreasonable to believe, apart altogether from faith, that conduct still has its victories to win over prejudice and persecution, before the earth which was created for the development of character has fulfilled its Creator's intention?

Loyalty to the State, accordingly, is by no means incompatible with a sincere belief in the Restoration of the Jews. But while it is necessary to be clear in our own minds as to what we mean by that belief, and as to why we cannot adapt it to the programme of political Zionism, it is equally necessary, I think, to be clear in our own minds as to what we mean by loyalty to the State. Much interesting evidence has been heard by Lord James's Commission, and part of it, at least, has gone to show that the children and grandchildren of aliens tend to become "quite English" in their habits and their sympathies. One witness, indeed, I recollect, went so far as to suggest that if the Christian and the Jewish Sabbaths could be celebrated on the same day, the whole problem would disappear. I am using the *Jewish Chronicle's* report of the proceedings, and, whether it is quite accurate or not, we may take it as the opinion of the Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, that the Jewish question in East London would be solved if Christians and Jews would keep the same day as their Day of Rest. Mr. Carter's interesting challenge has not, as far as I am aware, been taken up on the Jewish side; but it touches at so many points a marked tendency of modern Jewish thought, that we may well consider it in connection with the limits that must be set to our practical loyalty to the State. I confess that I

regard with apprehension the indications that undoubtedly exist within the Jewish community of a desire to level the barriers that separate the public devotions of Christians and Jews, and we cannot but feel that our own laxity must be somewhat to blame if an Anglican clergyman of Mr. Carter's enlightenment and experience can seriously propose that the Jews should adopt the Christian Sabbath as a remedy for an economic evil, which at the worst can be met by extending the operation of local bye-laws. We cannot but feel that it must partly be our own lax Sabbath observance which has prompted this suggestion, with its disproportion between the evil and the cure, on the part of the Vicar of St. Jude's, and once more we are reminded that if Judaism is to be respected by the State, it must begin by cultivating self-respect. This desire to break down the barriers between the synagogue and the church, or at least between the synagogue and the Theistic chapel, is of comparatively recent origin, and it comes to-day in so attractive a guise and with such strong authority to back it, that I count it one of the most subtle dangers that threaten the correct relations between modern Judaism and the State. It is no part of our duty as Englishmen to abandon the signs and symbols of our religious separatism as Jews; and this, I take it, is the effect, though it is not primarily the intention, of Jewish services outside the synagogue in which experiments are made towards an external uniformity in the conduct of public worship. Founded in the first instance with the laudable purpose of providing spiritual support for those whom, for one reason or another, the synagogue fails to reach, they result in making the difference between a synagogue and a church so imperceptible to the eyes, alike of the head and of the heart, that the step from the one to the other is very easily taken; and no weekly homiletics, I would venture to urge, however eloquent in language and how deeply soever inspired with the true fervour of Judaism, are likely to counteract the visible tendency of such a move-

ment away from the maintenance of the separatism of the Jews. So much stronger is practice than precept.

Instead of assimilating the forms of public worship, which are part of the historical tradition and of the factors of unity in Israel, to those of our non-Jewish neighbours, I would keep the differences between a synagogue and a church so clear and so distinct as to serve as a warning to trespassers. We are, perhaps, unnecessarily alarmed at the increase in the number of mixed marriages. They are probably not more frequent, and not more perilous in their example, than they have been in former generations. But, consciously or not, the advocates of a form of public worship, which is neither wholly Jewish nor wholly Christian, but a kind of cross between the two, do measurably facilitate the passage from one to the other, and in these days of untrammelled social intercourse and of widespread spiritual tenuity, it is important to keep as plain as possible that distinction between synagogue and church which corresponds, as every theologian knows, to an ultimate and a characteristic difference in the fundamental conceptions of the two religions and in their outlook upon life and death. I would keep that distinction so clear as to deter a non-Jew, for instance, from marrying a Jewess, or a Jew from seeking a non-Jewish wife.

Let me interpolate at this point a brief reference to the argument which helps to make so many intermarriages, and which may, perhaps, be called the appeal to broad-mindedness. It commonly asks the question, "Do we not all worship one God?" which it states as the *ne plus ultra* of religious truth. But in this sense, decidedly we do not; or, rather, if the theological quibble must be met, the answer is that the world is not yet ripe for that universal revelation, that Christianity and Judaism have been appointed to prepare for its coming, like the friend of the bridegroom of the parable, each according to its light, and that meanwhile the followers of Jesus and the followers of

Moses take separate roads towards the goal. If any one prefers the other's road let him cross over and use it; but as engines of human perfectibility each has its set task in the progress of mankind, and neither as yet can say that its work is complete, or that the sanctions by which it regulates conduct have produced among its own adherents such consummate happiness and goodness as to make it a guide to the other. And, again, in this connection, there is the appeal to the good of the State, which is alleged to be benefited in some mysterious way by the intermarriage of Christians and Jews. This argument is adequately met by the researches of Mr. Joseph Jacobs into the history of such unions, for which I may refer you to his article on "Births" in the third volume of the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

But I conceive that I am not here to-night to meet on their own ground those apostles of universalism, of whom the best that can be said is that they are many centuries in advance of their times. As Professor Lazarus acutely writes: "Israel had to be particularistic in order to formulate and hold up the universal ideal," and the true Zionists in Israel, the trustees of a civilising mission which has survived every outrage and assault, though with the progress of that mission they relax the particularism here and there, still must count themselves separatists in race and separatists in creed if they are to transmit the trust undiminished to their children. To pull down the barriers between synagogue and church is to merge the differences of race and creed, and to sell that birthright for the conventional mess of pottage. I have read that it is proposed to start in the East End of London a Sabbath Service for Jews and Jewesses on what I venture to call these lines of false universalism, and hence I have ventured to explain how and why it is dangerous, in a kind of access of spurious patriotism, to de-Orientalise our public worship, to make it as uniform as we can (and where we can't still to do so!) with that in the neighbouring chapel, and to familiarise

the rising generation of Jews with a form and habit of service which alike by its spirit and by its letter will make them strangers in a synagogue, and which will not be recognised as a synagogue by kinsmen of their blood from other lands. England and our neighbours do not demand this sacrifice of our religious individuality. As English Jews, to cut ourselves off from Judaism and from the Jews of other countries on the plea of becoming more English in our public worship, seems to me at least to be patriotism of the kind which is described as more royalist than the King.

The emancipation of the Jews was practically certain to give occasion for tendencies of this kind. But it is a mistake to identify these immature universalist propaganda with the Reform Movement of 1842, which was particularistic from its inception. The Reformers of sixty years ago saw that the Judaism of the Ghetto had inevitably acquired certain traits and characteristics which were not, in their opinion, desirable in themselves, which complicated, instead of simplifying, belief, and which were likely to prove burdensome in the new era of civil liberty. My spiritual fathers, accordingly, founded a Jewish synagogue in which the forms of public worship were relieved from these accretions of the centuries. They drew their inspiration, if I may say so, from the "pure well of" Judaism "undefiled," and thus it is not altogether strange to discover their descendants to-day in the seats of the orthodox. It has fallen to the Reform Congregation, as to some Radical politicians, to become conservative in its old age—with this difference that, even in hot youth, its desire for change was reactionary, and that, having pruned the medieval overgrowth, its desire was appeased. It may be that the time has come for a fresh movement of reform, but it should still be on particularistic lines. Emancipation would belie its name if it were incompatible with orthodox Judaism, and I venture to think that the Jews in this country where their freedom is greatest should now make

up their minds as to what is essential in Judaism; for when considerations of State seem to demand the sacrifice of essentials in religion, freedom becomes a mockery, to which the Ghetto is preferable. A conference with this object should be welcome to all, and such a list of essentials would not be very difficult to compile. It would include the Seventh Day Sabbath from sunset to sunset, as the corner-stone of the Jewish home on which the social system of the Hebrews has been founded. It would include the use of the sacred language in public worship, as the bond of union between Jew and Jew, and partly, too, out of a proper racial pride, that the people who wrote the Bible should read it in the language of its authors. And such a list would include the prayer for the Restoration of Zion, which expresses and symbolises our belief in the ultimate fulfilment of our mission. Beyond these essentials I need not go to-night, because these three alone, I believe, have been attacked, in the modern jargon, as "un-English," or "not up-to-date," and for their lapse alone so far have spiritual pretexts been found by some earnest thinkers in our midst. They, at any rate, cannot be suspected of confusing the spiritual plea with what may be called the argument from national convenience. Rather, their error must be sought in their neglect of the truth of human nature that no universal ideal can prove an effective mentor or a stimulating guide to conduct without particular expression, and that these Jewish forms and ceremonies, accordingly, are as essential to the Jewish ideal as hands to nerves. This, I venture to believe, is the mistake of such thinkers, but the consequence of their mistake is worse. These apostles of Anglican Judaism—to adopt a familiar and a not inappropriate epithet—will have taken upon themselves a very grave responsibility if they divorce the Jewish church in England from the synagogues of the rest of Jewry, and assimilate it in form, and, to some extent, in substance, to other churches in this country. Israel has always been quickened by great religious ideals, by these its work among

the nations must be judged, and pitiful indeed will be the record if history writes against its name: "This people, which fought for religious liberty, became the slaves of national conventions."

And here we see through a side-light a single aspect of the Jewish Question as it presents itself to the Jews. Every one naturally shrinks from talking of the purpose in his life. He observes an instinctive reticence about his aims and his ideals. He cannot go to and fro boasting of his final hope to leave the world, as the phrase goes, a little better than he found it. By his acts he exalts himself. And what is true of the individual is true of the nation in its degree. We, as Jews, may be moved by dictates of that kind, but it is not for us to say: "Here we have left our footprint. Here we have practised this virtue. Here we have lived for this hope." The eulogy may be left to others when the work is done. But it would be a false modesty not to note our successes. Success never spoils any one if it is taken in the right spirit as a means, and not as an end. Thus, a nation that believes in itself should sometimes take stock of its achievement, and little sections of the Jews in England and other countries may fairly congratulate themselves on having achieved a minute part of the great civilising mission with which they are entrusted as a whole. The contrast between the condition of Jewish society in England in the reigns, say, of Edward I. and of the Seventh Edward is an encouragement to the Jewish idealist who contemplates the problem of Jewish society in Roumania or Russia to-day. He does not regard that achievement as a fixed point or an end; at most it marks a step on the road towards his ideal. Another step in this infinite progress, though that still will be very far from the end, will be marked when other sections of the Jews have won a similar victory over the prejudice and injustice of their neighbours; and, deeply as we sympathise with their sorrows and their sufferings meanwhile, gladly as we do all

we can to alleviate and remove their burden, we are yet idealists enough, I hope, to recognise a purpose in it all. It is not a thing to talk about and boast of, nor to flaunt continually in men's faces, but it is a thing to cling to and to live for, and to save us in our relation to the state from the danger of the two extremes—political Zionism on the one part and religious Anglicism on the other.

THE POSITION OF JUDAISM IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND MODERN SCIENCE

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THE history of the conflict between religion and science takes us back to that remote period of antiquity when science, in its modern sense, was just dawning, and when the only theological religion was Judaism. Before the Christian era science did not deal with the concrete facts to which it mainly limits itself now. It then partook of the character of metaphysical and speculative philosophy. This reached a very high standard of development at the time when Greece attained the climax of its supremacy. The whole system of Greek life, embracing its culture, art, and science, its thoughts and its conduct, is known as Hellenism, and this was dominated by its philosophy. Judaism carried on a desperate conflict with Hellenism, because its philosophy was subversive of ethics and morality, and its science led on to idolatry. This was the first pitched battle between religion and science; in its issues was involved the very existence of the Jewish nation. The story of that strife cannot be told here, but it ended, at the Maccabæan period, in the triumph of Judaism, and Hellenism eventually succumbed to the force of Roman arms. But the antagonism of Hebraism to Hellenism was a very discriminating one. It rejected those phases which made for Atheism or Polytheism, but it retained the learning which laid the foundations of

modern science. The Talmud is the repository which embodies the attitude of Judaism to Greek science, and its pages afford abundant evidence that the "learning of the Greeks" demanded and obtained full recognition by the Jewish Rabbis. But if the Talmud gives clear indications of having absorbed Greek science, its vehement opposition to the godless aspect of Greek culture is no less pronounced.

It is a matter of common historical knowledge that Jews played an important part in the transmission of the science of the Greeks to Europe, when the Arabs became masters of nearly the whole of the civilised world in the ninth century. Jews shed some light into the intellectual darkness of the middle ages. They could look with indifference on the crusade against science and learning which Christianity initiated as soon as it became a power in the world. While the Church was carrying on an unceasing persecution in the interests of religion against the votaries of science, the authoritative exponents of Judaism were men advanced in all the scientific attainments of the age. The pillars of the synagogue were astronomers, physicians, and mathematicians, the very class of people the Church abhorred. It is true that Jewish history supplies examples of intolerance, that certain schools of Rabbis have declaimed against all secular learning; but, despite this, it is incontestable that the bias of Jewish history has always been in favour of science on its broadest basis. When it was definitely ascertained that the world was round, no convulsion ensued in Jewry; when it was discovered that the earth revolved around the sun, Judaism did not quake under the revelation. But the Church was horror-stricken at these announcements, and its response was the prison and the stake. No account of the history of science fails to emphasise the obstacles which the Christian church has placed in its path. At times it has been, apparently, an uncompromising hatred of knowledge which has determined the atti-

tude of the Church ; at others it has been the Bible which has been responsible for the position assumed by official Christianity, and it is here also that the position of Judaism is involved. In one respect, at least, the synagogue and the Church approach the Bible from different standpoints. Christianity is provided with an infallible guide to the meaning of the Bible by the interpretation put upon it by Jesus. Judaism does not possess such an infallible commentary. Often enough differences between science and the Bible vanish on the application of new methods of Biblical interpretation. Christianity necessarily hesitates before it adopts an interpretation at variance with the one given by its founder. The controversial literature which sprang up when geology demonstrated the processes of creation, and the battle of the books which raged when the theory of evolution was propounded, were to a large extent the result of the conviction, in the Christian world, that not only was the Bible itself divine, but that the interpretation of the Church was equally divine. It is true that Judaism also possesses a traditional explanation of the Bible, but this tradition is itself transitional and not stereotyped, and therefore admits considerable license in exegesis.

Jewish sources contributed little or nothing to the voluminous flood of literature which sought either to drown the voice of science or to indicate the path to conciliation and compromise, and even to-day there is practically no easily accessible Jewish authority to turn to for guidance on the relations between the Bible and theories of modern science. The reason for this is probably to be found in the absolutely detached attitude which Judaism can assume to these matters ; it can adopt the position that if the teachings of geological and biological science are facts, it is clear that the literal interpretation of the Scriptural passages which concern these subjects is inadmissible. This proposition introduces no new principle into the Jewish view of Biblical exegesis.

There are certain statements in the Bible which, taken literally, are irreconcilable with the spiritual conception of the Deity—the cardinal maxim of Judaism. These passages have therefore never been accepted as the records of actual occurrences, and yet they possess a definite intrinsic value. But it is conceivable that there were periods when the prevalent views of Monotheism were somewhat crude, and these anthropomorphic passages did not do violence to the popular ideas then entertained. Similarly, until recent times the Biblical account of the Creation and the origin of the species satisfied the instinct of inquiry which has prompted the human mind to ferret out the mysteries of nature. With the extension of knowledge, with a profounder insight into nature, with improved methods of investigation, with the accumulation of new discoveries, the plain unvarnished tale of the Bible no longer satisfies the modern doctrine of creation.

Science teaches us that at one remote period the sun, the earth, and all the heavenly bodies formed one vast cloudy mass of matter. The planets, including the earth, have one by one been detached from this nebula, leaving a central mass, which is now the sun. In ages long afterwards, after a process of cooling, rocks—the geologist's library—became deposited on this globe, layer on layer. Some of these exhibit proofs of having been once a sea floor, with remains of sea creatures that lived in it; others show tracings of a long-vanished lake, on which primitive man launched his oak canoe. Rocks of coal-pits furnish records of forest after forest, luxuriant with verdure, having sunk down, and now buried within the earth. The fossils of animals and plants show species now extinct. Land and sea have often changed places, volcanoes have broken out in various parts of the globe, continents have been gradually built up, and mountain chains formed; valleys, lakes, and ravines excavated. Climates have changed from Tropic heat to Arctic cold. Life began in the remote past with the simplest organisms,

with undifferentiated protoplasm of jelly-like structure. This has advanced through countless ages in uninterrupted process of evolution, producing more and more complicated forms, into the highly specialised animals of the present day. This advance has been associated with an incessant struggle for existence, so that groups of fishes, molluscs and reptiles, have appeared, have lived for protracted periods and have died out, while the more favoured have gone on living and developing. The climax of this development is man himself, who bears in himself the evidence that he has passed through the stages of lower orders of existence.

It is obvious enough that the book of nature and the Book of divine revelation are in serious conflict. The policy at first adopted by those who claimed to speak in the name of religion was an uncompromising opposition to these new theories. But this attitude was speedily dropped as the overwhelming force of the scientific arguments became established. Then the plasticity of the Scriptures was utilised to mould their account of the Creation into substantial agreement with modern cosmogony. The general lines of this reconciliation are easy to perceive. The days of the Bible become geological periods of indefinite length, the special creations of the succeeding days correspond with the fossil remains of geological strata, the order of the creation of living things coincides with the development of simple into complex organisms. The works written to prove this thesis would in themselves form a library of respectable dimensions; they range from that fine classic, Hugh Miller's "Testimony of the Rocks," to innumerable pamphlets bearing almost journalistic titles, indicating the agreement between the Bible and Science. From the Jewish side, hardly anything has emanated. The only exposition on the subject known to me, as coming from a source of unquestionable authority, is contained in a sermon delivered by R. Israel Lipshitz at Dantzic about sixty years ago. Though geology was then

merely in its infancy, its statements are fully accepted, the existence of prehistoric animals and men is taken without reserve, and all the conclusions of science are regarded as affording striking demonstration of the dictum of a sage in the Talmud, that there was an order of creation before the one referred to in Genesis, and that God has been creating worlds and laying them waste, re-creating them and devastating them; or, in the words of Professor Lodge in a recent article in the *Hibbert Journal*: "From everlasting to everlasting the material universe rolls on, evolving worlds and disintegrating them, evolving vegetable beauty and destroying it, evolving intelligent animal life, developing that into a self-conscious human race, and then plunging it once more into annihilation."

Jewish philosophers always allowed themselves a free play of the imagination in their interpretation of the history of the Creation. The author of the "Duties of the Heart" held that there was a process of evolution and dissolution which would continue until a condition of perfection came about. The allegorical explanation of the Creation has also been offered from the Jewish side. The Biblical account is supposed to represent stages in the development of the world, further, that we are now in the fourth day or stage in which the luminaries are fixed, the great luminary being the Torah; the lesser light, ordinary human intelligence.

Before, however, we can adopt a conclusive attitude on this question we must agree on our standpoint—the Bible. Judaism regards the Bible as a divine code of laws for the guidance and conduct of the Hebrew people, a history of the origin and progress of the people, with a collection of the exhortations of its prophets and poets. In such a compilation what place is there for a history of the Creation? This difficulty appealed to that famous commentator Rashi nearly nine hundred years ago. He states that the purpose of the digression from the main theme of the Bible was to establish the fact that the world had a

Creator, who in virtue of that is the source of all laws, natural, social, and moral. "The Bible is not intended to teach us the order of Creation," says the commentator. Rashi does not bind himself to accept the sequence of the creative acts of Genesis. Undoubtedly if he had been living to-day, he would be struck with the general similarity between the Mosaic and geological records, but he would not have laboured to establish a precise agreement. The celebrated grandson of Rashi—the Rashbam—states that his grandfather had expressed his desire to rewrite his commentary on the Bible in accordance with the "new views which were daily appearing." He could easily have reconciled his views of Genesis even with the revolutionary ideas of the present day.

From the Jewish standpoint the Bible is the textbook of moral and ethical law; it has no relation with laws of science. From the point of view of the Biblical period the earth was flat, and was the centre of the universe; it was a fixed body and the sun moved. The whole fabric of modern physical science is built up on totally opposite foundations; and still this has not, in the minds of most thinking people, compromised their view of the special inspiration of the Bible; it has not affected rational views of the Bible in any of those aspects in which Judaism regards it as a guide and a mentor. Jewish sages have, of old, removed many difficulties in interpretation by the application of the maxim that the Bible employs popular methods of expression. This maxim will undoubtedly solve many of the knotty points raised by science, where the Bible touches on its domains. The first chapters of Genesis have been so often used for the purpose of undermining the authority of the Bible that a working hypothesis is indispensable, and we may start with the Jewish traditional view of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. There can be no doubt that the Israelites possessed their tribal traditions regarding the origin of the universe. Every ancient people had its own

cosmogony; most of them were grotesque, but none of them were purely monotheistic. The particular account current among the Israelites was probably very similar to that contained on the Babylonian clay tablets, which is not a very gross description; but long contact with Egyptian surroundings must have considerably contaminated it with idolatrous conceptions. The whole purpose of the Mosaic dispensation was to eradicate any idea of multiplicity of gods in nature; it became therefore logically necessary to introduce the Torah of the released people with the lesson that the Power which had delivered them from slavery was the identical one to whom the whole of Creation is due; to teach them that there was a law in history as there is a law in nature due ultimately to the same source. The vehicle by which these important doctrines were conveyed was that particular tradition of Creation current among Semitic nations. As we have it in the Bible it contains the purest monotheistic teachings concerning the beginnings of the world and the origin of species.

From the Jewish standpoint this Biblical genesis has no value as a scientific record, but it maintains a unique position for its moral teaching and sublime announcements pertaining to all created things. Judaism is not concerned to ferret out all the coincidences of geological theories with the varied interpretations of Scriptural passages.

We certainly look with interest on the learned, ingenious, and painstaking work which has been done in this direction by the school of conciliators, but we do not claim to be vitally affected by the success or failure of their efforts. That it cannot influence the principles of Judaism is quite evident; we may go further and confidently assert that it cannot materially influence the Jewish view of the Bible.

If it is urged that the Bible does actually depict the method of Creation, and so is scientific, we reply thereto

that it does not. It merely gathers up all things that exist in order to say just this one thing to us, "God made them all." The Bible deals with the ethics or morals of every matter, not with the science of it. In matters of fact the Bible gives us the thoughts and apprehensions of the respective ages in which it was written. It speaks of the moving of the sun when men thought it moved; but the truth it is intended to teach is, that God made and controls by law the movements of both earth and sun.

I will here quote a few sentences from one of the famous nineteen letters of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch of Frankfort, a teacher who was a veritable tower of strength to orthodox Judaism. The quotation will indicate how the Biblical Genesis appeared to a modern scholarly Jewish intellect of the most conservative type: "Seest thou the heaven in its eternally silent, unchanging course, bearer of light and heat and all the motive forces of our earth, seest thou it with its millions of starry worlds . . . or the earth with its eternal circles of originating and passing away, of blooming and withering, of life and death . . . dost thou see it with its millions of productions, stones, plants, animals, all of which it produces, nourishes, and again takes back to its bosom . . . dost thou see the light, which coaxes all to life, through which thou seest everything which is, and everything arrays itself for thee in resplendent colours. . . . Behold now each created thing, from the blade of grass to the vast sunball, each with its special purpose, and each specially adapted in its form and matter for that purpose. . . . Infinitesimally small or infinitely great, all was created by the word of God and determined by His will. All the forces which thou seest working in everything, and all the laws according to which they work, from the force and the law in obedience to which a stone falls or a seed of corn grows into a plant to the force and the law in accordance with which the planets move in their orbits, or thy intellect expands,

to God, the universal force, they all belong. . . . Everything which He created, formed, and arranged, He also blessed with the blessing of permanence and development."

The great and generally accepted theory of evolution has often been popularly regarded as an attempt to show how the universe may have come into existence without a creator. If this representation were true, the theory would stand in uncompromising conflict with the essence of Judaism. But it is hardly necessary to emphasise the falsity of a proposition of this kind. Darwin himself in one of his letters wrote: "It seems to me that the impossibility of conceiving that this grand and wondrous universe, with our conscious selves, arose through chance, is our chief argument for the existence of God. . . . I am also inclined to defer, to a certain extent, to the judgment of the many able men who have fully believed in God." There are men of science who proclaim their agnosticism, or their materialism, but this is a course often enough pursued by men of other professions; and, on the other hand, there are men in the foremost ranks of science, whose spiritual sympathies are so keen, that they are carried away beyond the limits of rational religion into the bounds of mysticism. We may well ask with the late Professor Morley, in his introduction to the "Vestiges": "Do we deny our Maker because each one of us is developed from the germ to the infant, and again from the weak infant, with its germs of undeveloped faculties and powers, to the strength and wisdom of the man, who yet looks forward to the passage into a higher life to come? And if the great universe, without us, was so framed, that—to take an extreme view—all we see has, like man, been developed from one germ, have we not still more reason to wonder and adore?"

This side of the subject touches very closely on the outstanding controversy between science and faith. In the article by Professor Lodge already referred to, he asks, "Is this universe self-contained and self-sufficient with

no outlook into or links with anything beyond, uninfluenced by any life or mind except such as is connected with a material body, or is it a universe lying open to all manner of spiritual influences, permeated through and through with a divine spirit, guided and watched by a living mind, acting through the medium of law indeed, but with intelligence and love behind the law; a universe by no means self-sufficient and self-contained, but with feelers at every pore groping into another supersensuous order of existence, where reign laws hitherto unimagined by science, but laws as real and as mighty as those which govern the material universe?" This really constitutes the riddle of the universe. Faith sees the solution of the problem possible in the acceptance of the cardinal doctrine of Theism. Science does not set itself out to attempt a categorical solution. Its domain does not extend beyond matter and force associated with matter; the world of consciousness is outside its province. There is a definite limit to every path of scientific research; the microscope's revelations of the infinitely little and the telescope's revelations of the infinitely great come to an abrupt stop at a fixed boundary. It is true that the frontier line is being constantly pushed farther and farther on, but every fresh scientific attainment means merely a deeper insight into the methods of nature, a better appreciation of the riddle of the universe, but not a nearer approach to its solution. So that really the outstanding controversy between science and faith has not been materially altered by the achievements of modern science. This controversy can be carried on well enough on the basis of pure philosophy, and the position of Judaism in the conflict remains to-day precisely what it was in the days when the fool said in his heart, "There is no God." Judaism has no quarrel with the science of comparative religion which demonstrates that a belief in some form of supernatural power comes within the realisation of nearly all primitive peoples. It may have arisen through fanciful interpreta-

tions of dreams, the deification of the ghosts of ancestors, or through awe inspired by powerful manifestations of nature, such as thunder, hurricanes, or the sun itself. That pure conception of God which Judaism has developed did not necessarily come into the human mind with the suddenness of a bolt from the blue. Undoubtedly it existed previously in immature, abortive, and impure forms; it was a mythological idea. Judaism claims, that with the ancestor of the Hebrew race, it became a philosophical idea. It does not, of course, admit any manner of doubt about its reality, but having based the whole fabric of the Jewish religion firmly and solidly on this conception, it leaves its discussion severely alone. Judaism having staked its very existence on the Theistic idea, approaches very closely to agnosticism in its scientific knowledge of God. To Judaism he is truly the Unknowable. No attempt is made to dissect or to analyse Him, for it is recognised that human intelligence can never attain a definite knowledge of God, and thus this is for ever outside the range of scientific fact. For purely religious purposes, however, for the emotional and sentimental aspects of life, Judaism relaxes its purely philosophical view of the Godhead, and presents that view of it with which we are familiar from the Bible Talmud and the Liturgy.

The account of the Creation is, however, not the only subject of interest to science which the Bible touches upon, before it begins to deal with its specific theme, the history of Israel. The first few chapters of Genesis contain an epitome of the early progress of human civilisation from a state of nature to a stage of culture. With a few rapid strokes of the pen we get a glimpse of the dawn of human intellect, of passions, and of crime. The beginnings of agriculture, of art, and of language are referred to in rapid survey. With a great moral purpose there is a lengthy and detailed history of a flood. The evidences of primitive civilisation, collected into the science of Anthropology,

traverse all these matters, and are gradually accumulating a mass of well-attested conclusions, which convince us that, until the period of Abraham, the Bible is not concerned with literal historical facts. This is a view which at first runs counter to what may be termed instinctive Jewish sympathies. The question is, however, not one of sentiment, nor even one of expediency. There may be great reluctance to suddenly convert a comparatively large section of the Book of Genesis into allegory, but this proceeding turns wholly on the true interpretation of the text and the significance it must bear for us at the present day. Judaism demands that every form of human knowledge should be pressed into the service of Biblical exegesis, and that every variety of human experience should be employed to illustrate and expound the meaning of the Scriptures. The Rabbis of old occasionally adopted very short measures with some passage which bristles with difficulty. For instance, it is said that when the Israelites were engaged in battle with the Amalekites "it came to pass that when Moses raised his hand the Israelites prevailed, and when he let down his hand the Amalekites prevailed." The Mishnah asks, "Can then the hands of Moses determine the fortune of war?" The reply is, that when the Israelites put their trust in God, and acted in accordance with His dictates, victory attended them; but that disaster followed on disobedience. Similarly, after the children of Israel had been bitten by the venomous serpents in the wilderness, Moses erected a brazen serpent, and it came to pass that he who looked up unto it became healed and recovered. The Mishnah again asks, "Could then the brazen serpent avert death?" and the reply is couched in parallel terms.

Here we have a type of Biblical interpretation, with the highest sanction of Jewish authority, and we may confidently employ this method when the advance of modern science demands a review of our position.

The theory of evolution does not confine itself to the explanation of the origin of the material universe, nor is

its scope limited to the phenomena of the animal and vegetable world. Under the guiding mind of Herbert Spencer it has assumed the proportions of a great doctrine, which pervades the whole of modern philosophy, and gives an unmistakable bias to modern thought. There is hardly a topic of human interest which has failed to come under its influence; it sees the process of development in arts, in laws, in politics, in society, in religions; it treats even of the evolution of the idea of God. It is responsible for the introduction of the conception of the "Social Organism," a term which is the keynote of modern philosophical writings. There is a decided tendency at present to regard every group or community of human beings associated together, for any purpose whatsoever, as an organic whole working out its existence, and going through a definite progress of social events, much in the same way as an animal or plant works out its life history by a series of physiological events. Animal life is made up of the processes of growth, the acquisition of food, the reproduction of the species, and decay. The social life of every human group similarly exhibits a gradual development into a tribe or nation; its wars and victories, its science and intellect are directed to the maintenance of that vigour which an animal derives from its food; there is the pride of race, and the desire for its perpetuation, so that the increase of population becomes a great economical factor, and lastly, nations like individuals or animal species, having passed through their stages, decay and disappear.

All this is in obedience to the immutable principle of evolution and dissolution which modern thought perceives running through human history. This idea carries us into more daring conceptions.

In the domain of astronomy, science has demonstrated the existence of law, to which every planet in its revolution conforms, by which every star is governed, by means of which eclipses can be foretold, and the appearance of comets accurately timed. The world of animal and

vegetable life gives the impression that there is some orderly progression of events, dominated by biological laws to which, so far, we possess no clue. Human history—the organic life of society—is in the same way possibly the expression of the working of law, so that the whole course of the social, political, and religious development of mankind has been in obedience to law, and has been as inevitable as the motion of a planet in its orbit. This consideration introduces us to the science of history, which touches Judaism much more closely even than the natural sciences. We may interpret the Bible as we will, but there can only be one interpretation of the phenomena of Jewish history consistent with the genius of Judaism. As in nature the question of design arises and is answered according to the individual bias of the observer, so it does in history, and especially in Jewish history. The wonderful adaptations of structure and function in nature, which serve important ends in the economy of animal and vegetable organisms, are none the less design because we happen to know how they represent the persistence of accidental useful variations. Similarly, no system of modern thought can find favour in Judaism, which eliminates the idea of design from its philosophy of history. Design may be immediate or ultimate. The wonderful design that we see in the animal and vegetable world serves the ends of the preservation of life and the perpetuation of the species. This is immediate design. What the business of the ultimate design of life may be is the concern of transcendental philosophy. Looking on Judaism as a social organism, the design manifested in its history must concern itself with its preservation and perpetuation. But in the case of Judaism the ultimate design also comes within the grasp of human perceptive faculties as religious philosophy.

This aspect of science comes into contact with Judaism in two ways. One is represented by the school of modern Biblical criticism. The advance-guard of this school makes

the development of Semitic peoples and Semitic religions start from a level of culture similar to what exists at the present day among the aboriginal tribes of Africa and South America. The religion of the Bible becomes, consequently, one small branch of the Semitic religions with its tribal god, its idolatrous ritual, and its inferior morality; while the history of the Bible becomes mainly a collection of stories of warfare and legends of heroes. Naturally, the spirit which underlies teaching of this character is quite inimical to traditional Judaism. It is not my purpose to dwell on this part of the subject, because it involves the question of Biblical criticism, which requires perfectly separate treatment. One may say, however, that the data which the critics possess whereupon to base theories of the comparative religion of the Bible are exceedingly meagre, and compare most unfavourably with the mass of material at the disposal of natural scientists to assist them in formulating their theories. Higher criticism may help us a little in understanding the construction of the Bible, but it fails to give us that breadth of view, that indication of design, and that demonstration of the working of law in Jewish history which we get from what I venture to call the Biological view of Judaism.

This is the second point of contact between that aspect of science which we are now considering and Judaism.

The primary function of Judaism, as a social organism, is to exist: the whole of its energies must be put forth to enable it to live and perpetuate itself. I use the term Judaism in the sense of religious nationality. Now the career of every nation in history is beset with a fierce struggle for life. The circumstances which are constantly threatening a people's existence are warfare, famine, epidemics of disease, and natural catastrophes, and in this incessant struggle only the more favoured races survive. History reveals the fact that the moral decadence of a nation is the main condition favourable to the action of the forces of dissolution. Through this

